

# GAZETTE DES BEAUX-ARTS

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## C O N T E N T S

THE BUST OF ANTONIO GALLI IN THE FRICK COLLECTION, BY MARTIN WEINBERGER. † TWO GREAT XVIII CENTURY BALLET MASTERS: JEAN-BAPTISTE DE HESSE AND FRANZ HILVERDING, *LA GUINGUETTE* AND *LE TURC GENEREUX* SEEN BY G. DE ST. AUBIN AND CANALETTO, BY ARTUR MICHEL. † THE "UNFROCKING" DRAWINGS OF FRANCISCO DE GOYA, BY JOSE LOPEZ-REY. † DAUMIER PERE AND DAUMIER FILS, BY BERNARD LEMANN. † BIBLIOGRAPHY.

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# THE BUST OF ANTONIO GALLI IN THE FRICK COLLECTION

THE small but distinguished group of sculptures in the Frick Collection is described in an official "check list" of four pages. With admirable self-discipline the anonymous author of this list has refrained from making attributions to definite masters in cases where our limited knowledge seems to permit only the general indication of a school. In at least one instance<sup>1</sup> the attempt has failed to replace the cautious but reliable information of the check list, by an attribution to a great master.

The bronze bust of a bearded man with the inscription: ANTONIUS ▲ GALLUS on the base, (Fig. 1) is described in the check list as "Florentine (?) School, late

1. The *Hercules* (BODE, *The Italian bronze statuettes*. . . , London 1907 I, p. 18) mentioned in the check list as: "No. 9: Florentine school, end of XV Century" was attributed to no less an artist than Verrocchio by W. VALENTINER ("The Art Quarterly" 1941, IV, 10). It would be strange indeed if the many scholars who were puzzled by this mysterious statuette should have overlooked so simple a solution. The present writer hopes to discuss the problems of this *Hercules* in a forthcoming paper in connection with other sculpture of the early XVI Century.



XVI Century, bust of Antonio Gallo (?)". In a recent publication<sup>2</sup> the bust is given to Jacopo Sansovino and the sitter identified as the architect Antonio da Sangallo (the Younger). These changes stand in need of correction, as the bust is neither the work of Jacopo Sansovino nor a portrait of Antonio da Sangallo.

The base with the inscription is cast in one piece with the bust; the inscription itself is not cast but engraved, apparently after the bust had received its coat of black lacquer patina. Nevertheless, the authenticity of the inscription must not be questioned: its epigraphic character is beyond suspicion and the name Antonius Gallus so little known that it cannot be considered a later and arbitrary addition. In fact, the name is so unfamiliar that the text of the publication just mentioned could identify Antonius Gallus with Antonio da Sangallo.<sup>3</sup> However, that is philologically impossible. Gallus and da Sangallo are two entirely different names and if adjustments had to be made for the limited space on the inscription tablet, the customary Latinized form ANTONIUS S(ANCTI) GALLI would not have been any longer than ANTONIUS GALLUS.

But there is no need for such philological arguments. Although he is forgotten today, Antonio Galli was well known to his contemporaries as one of the leading men at the court of Urbino under Guidobaldo II (1538-74). Guidobaldo, the son of Francesco Maria della Rovere and Eleonora Gonzaga had the traditions of both these great houses in his blood. He surrounded himself with poets, just as Julius II and Isabella Gonzaga had lived in the company of artists. Bernardo Tasso, the father of a greater son, was for some years a member of this poetic court, the only one whose name is still recorded with distinction in the history of Italian literature. Guidobaldo and his duchess seem to have been even prouder of Laura Battiferri whose poems were genuinely admired and likened to those of Sappho and Vittoria Colonna by the "letterati" of Rome and Florence, men like Annibale Caro<sup>4</sup> and Benedetto Varchi. Laura was a native of Urbino and it seems that this fact considerably enhanced the value of her poetic production in the opinion of the ducal couple. The duchess even made Laura promise not to marry out of the state of Urbino. When in 1550 the poetess married the Florentine sculptor Bartolommeo Ammanati, the cardinal Alessandro Farnese<sup>5</sup> had to use his influence with the duchess Vittoria, his sister, before this strange embargo on the means of artistic production was lifted.

Among men and women such as these Antonio Galli seems to have distin-

2. DUVEEN BROTHERS INC., *Duveen Sculpture in Public Collections of America*, New York, 1944.

3. *O.c.*, p. 187: "The wording Antonius Gallus is quite easily understandable as the brief Latin transcription of Antonio da Sangallo, the shortening of the unusually long name conditioned by the narrow space". The similarity of the bust with the portrait of Sangallo in Vasari's second edition is no greater than can be expected of two contemporary portraits.

4. BALDINUCCI published some of Caro's letters to Laura in his *Vita of Ammanati*.

5. See his letter, dated June 1551 (!) in: BOTTARI-TICOZZI, *Raccolta di Lettere sulla Pittura, Scultura ed Architettura*, Milan 1822, V, 233.





FIG. 1. — Bartolommeo Ammanati. — Bust of Antonio Galli. — The Frick Collection, New York.

guished himself less by the brilliance of his poetic gift than by the versatility of his talents. He was born<sup>6</sup> in 1510, a native of Urbino like Laura Battiferri; a relative, Angelo Galli (+1496) had been a poet of some renown before his time. Antonio's own poetic efforts lay in the direction of the pastoral play, and Torquato Tasso, when he wrote *Aminta* is said to have been influenced by him. But Antonio was also a soldier and statesman and was sent on important diplomatic missions to Venice, Rome and Spain.<sup>7</sup> Like Laura Battiferri, he must have been familiar with the literary men of Rome; we can assume this from two letters

6. FILIPPO UGOLINI, *Storia dei Conti e Duchi d'Urbino*, Florence, 1859, II, 343.

7. JAMES DENNISTOUN, *Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino*, London, 1851, III, 282.



written to him by Annibale Caro who seems to address him as an old friend.

It is only in these two letters that Antonio Galli enters into the full limelight of history, and behind him appears the great shadow of Michelangelo. The tragedy of the Julius tomb seemed to have come to an end in 1542; but in 1553, long after the monument had been given its final shape, the duke of Urbino renewed the claims of the Rovere family. The story has often been told how Michelangelo was hard pressed by the Medici to work for them while he dearly desired to finish the tomb of the pope. Intending to stress the importance of the claims of the Roveres, he gave receipts for far higher sums than they had ever paid him. An agreement had been reached in 1542; yet eleven years later Guidobaldo based new claims on these spurious documents.

It was in this connection that Annibale Caro wrote to Antonio Galli on August 20, 1553. The letter is full of the humane urbanity so typical of the refined and enlightened society in which he moved. I cannot refrain from quoting it in part:<sup>8</sup>

"I did not answer your letter on Saturday expecting the publication of a 'Life of Michelangelo' written by one of his pupils.<sup>9</sup> In this book special reference will be made to the matter of the tomb about which I spoke to you and to his defense in this business. You will see what he has to say and if you consider his arguments sufficient to support his case, will you submit them to His Excellency together with those which you may wish to add yourself, with the respect due to such a prince as the Duke of Urbino? However, I would not base his case on justice only, for taking a severe view there is much that one might say against him. The arguments His Excellency mentioned to you are valid and perhaps partly difficult to refute. To a certain extent I would admit (as he does) his error in agreeing to work for others while he was obliged to complete this monument even though the popes stood in his way. I would demand forgiveness of the error and that clemency which the Great are wont to bestow upon men of such great merit as Michelangelo in order to win over such a man . . . and also to benefit our age by preserving this man for as long as possible . . . In his advanced years he has remained so active that he could still do work worthy of eternal memory . . ."

Antonio Galli seems to have undertaken this mission with great skill, for in his next letter, dated November 17th of the same year,<sup>10</sup> Caro thanked him

8. BOTTARI-TICOZZI, *o.c.*, III, 196.

9. Condivi's *Vita* which, however, had already been published July 16th.

10. BOTTARI-TICOZZI, *o.c.*, III, 214.





FIG. 2. — Giovannantonio Dosio. — Portrait of Annibale Caro. — St. Lorenzo in Damaso, Rome.

effusively for the service rendered to Michelangelo.

Antonio Galli died in 1561. In his last years he was one of the men to whom the duke entrusted the education of his young son, Francesco Maria. This role of Mentor to a prince completes the picture of a man whose accomplishments do not appear to have been outstanding in any of his various fields, but well balanced, revealing a harmonious and enlightened personality. Half a century earlier Baldassare Castiglione had dedicated his *Cortigiano* to the men and women of the same court. Antonio Galli seems to have been a belated disciple of this Renaissance doctrine of good manners and refined enjoyment of life. That impression is confirmed by a glance at our bronze bust, (Fig. 1) in which the well groomed and slightly sensuous

appearance of Galli is blended with an air of intellectual superiority. The portrait is representative of a class of men which was soon to die out under the impact of the Counter-reformation. One might call them the last humanists; their features are familiar from their monuments in the churches of Rome. Annibale Caro died five years after Antonio Galli; the portrait bust over Caro's tomb in S. Lorenzo in Damaso (Fig. 2) shows the same impeccable outward appearance, the same suave urbanity that hides so much genuine humanism and culture.

The bust of *Annibale Caro* was carved by Giovannantonio Dosio in 1566/7. Its style is harder and heavier than that of our bust; we must assume the portrait of *Galli* to be a considerable number of years earlier. There are even differences in the dress. The soft shirt collar worn over the coat by Caro is found in portraits of the later 60's. The high open collar of the tunic with the (slightly frilled) edging of the shirt just showing inside is typical of the early 50's. To quote only a few examples, it is seen in the Naples *Portrait of Philip II* by Titian, in Clouet's drawing of *Francis II as dauphin* and in the Welbeck picture



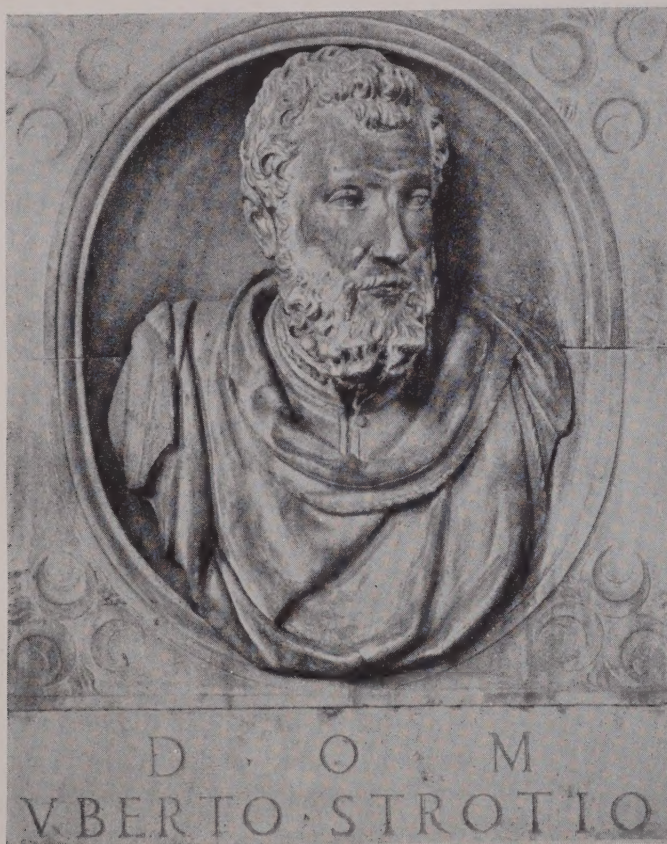


FIG. 3. — Florentine Master (Battista Lorenzi ?), 1553. — Portrait of Uberto Strozzi — Sa. Maria Sopra Minerva, Rome.

of *Edward VI* by the school of Holbein, all of which date around 1553. Finally nearer home the portrait bust of a friend of Caro, the Florentine *Uberto Strozzi*<sup>11</sup> (1553) on his monument in S.M. sopra Minerva (Fig. 3) shows the closest resemblance to our bust in this sartorial detail.

Thus approximately ten years separate the *Galli* from the *Caro* bust. We have pointed out the stylistic differences, yet there are also similarities. Dosio's portrait of *Caro* owes much to the influence of Guglielmo della Porta<sup>12</sup> and some such influence may be noticed also in our bust. Guglielmo had come to Rome from Genoa about 1537; in 1549 he began to work on the monument for Paul III and was now fast becoming the central figure

among the younger sculptors of Rome.

The bust in the Frick Collection is certainly not the work of a local master of Urbino. No sculptor sufficiently talented to model such an important piece is known to have worked in Urbino at the time, and the connection of our bust with those of *Strozzi* and *Caro*, however superficial, points towards Rome. Guglielmo della Porta's bust of *Blosio Palladio*<sup>13</sup> in S. Maria in Aquiro, Rome (1550) establishes the type which the sculptor follows freely in the general arrangement of the bust with the inscription tablet, quite novel at this time, and the equally unusual folds of the coat. Obviously such influences remain on the surface without penetrating into the region of style while the style of Dosio's bust

11. A. GRIEBACH, *Roemische Portraetbuesten der Gegenreformation*, Leipzig, 1936, p. 64. In Bronzino's *Portrait of a young man* at Berlin (A. McCOMB, *Agnolo Bronzino*, Cambridge, 1928, p. 44, pl. 12, "ca. 1540-1545") the collar is already similar to the examples which we quote but not yet as high, particularly in the back.

12. W. GRAMBERG, review of GRIEBACH in: "Zeitschrift fuer Kunstgeschichte" 1937, VI, p. 46 and 49.

13. GRIEBACH, *o.c.*, p. 62 (no. 15); plausibly attributed to Guglielmo della Porta by GRAMBERG, *l.c.*, p. 48.



of *Caro* is based directly on Porta's head of *Paul III* (Fig. 4).

Therefore the undeniable similarity of the two busts should be recognized less in their dependence from Guglielmo than in another factor of greater importance. Dosio is a Florentine working in Rome. Under a thin layer of Roman influence Florentine characteristics appear very distinctly also in the bust of *Antonio Galli*. In fact, it is the combination of Roman and Florentine trends that caused its attribution to Jacopo Sansovino. The assumption was that Sansovino had modeled it during the years of his sojourn at Rome (ca. 1519-1527). We have seen that this is chronologically impossible. Besides, not even Michelangelo was more averse to portraiture than Jacopo Sansovino. Throughout his long lifetime the statue of *Tommaso Rangone* (Venice, San Giuliano, 1554) is his only serious attempt at portraiture.<sup>14</sup> Its style, very different from that of the bust under discussion is intimately related to the heavily built, closely knit portraits Titian painted at that time.

Even the Florentine foundation of the style is not the same in Sansovino and in our bust. The influence of Bandinelli is unmistakable in the portrait of *Galli*—and no greater contrast to Sansovino could be found than Bandinelli. This influence can best be observed in the treatment of hair and beard, particularly in the side view (Fig. 5). Hard knots of curly hair are surrounded by shadows, the narrow strands of the beard deeply furrowed, just as in Bandinelli's *Hercules* and *Caccus* with its broken-up surfaces and artificially wild patterns of hair and beard. We can trace this technique back beyond Bandinelli to his master Rustici and finally to Leonardo's



FIG. 4. — Guglielmo della Porta. — Monument of Paul III, detail. — St. Peter's Basilica, Rome.

14. In his sepulchral monuments Sansovino gives only the vaguest indication of individual features to the effigies, or leaves them entirely to assistants. See: H. R. WEIHRAUCH, *Studien zum bildnerischen Werke des Jacopo Sansovino*, Strasbourg 1935, pp. 32, 38, 78.





FIG. 5. — Bartolommeo Ammanati. — Bust of Antonio Galli, side view. — The Frick Collection, New York. Courtesy of the Frick Collection.

drawings. It is something very different from the clearly engraved linear rhythms of Guglielmo della Porta's *Paul III*. Compared with the *Galli* bust the mighty mass of beard and hair in Sansovino's contemporary statues<sup>15</sup> appears sculpturally compact; the heavy strands flow in long rhythms undisturbed by shadows.

Still some influence of Jacopo Sansovino is evident in the bust. It is seen in the softly shining surfaces, with stronger highlights accentuating the gracefully curved outline of face and forehead. This is not the style of Sansovino's Roman years, nor of his later Venetian period (after 1550). The elegance of outline and luminosity of surfaces are reminiscent of his bronze statues for the Loggetta of the Campanile (1540-45).

\* \* \*

At that time Sansovino's former pupil Bartolommeo Ammanati was working in Padua. He had just returned<sup>16</sup> to the North from Florence and the impression Sansovino's Loggetta

figures made upon him is reflected in his own work at Padua. In 1550 Ammanati came to Rome. On Michelangelo's advice he was immediately entrusted with an important task, the tombs of Fabiano and Antonio del Monte, grandfather and uncle of the reigning Pope, Julius III (Fig. 6). Vasari had made the first drawings for these two monuments. While Ammanati was still working on them, the close collaboration between the painter and the sculptor continued in the decoration of the Vigna di Papa Giulio.

15. For instance the *Neptune* (1554) in the court of the Ducal Palace, or the *St. John* in Santa Maria de' Frari (ca. 1550).

16. In 1537 he had been Sansovino's assistant in Venice and then gone back to Florence. One is surprised to find hardly any traces of Sansovino's influence in the recumbent statue of Mario Nari, worked in Florence, probably in the following year. Instead the influence of Ammanati's first master, Bandinelli, is very noticeable in this statue (Bargello, see ill. in: A. VENTURI, *Storia dell'Arte Italiana*, X, 2, 358).



When Michelangelo left Florence in 1534, Ammanati had been a young man of twenty-three and, as a pupil of Bandinelli, a member of the rival camp. In 1550, Michelangelo seems to have remembered him mainly in connection with a very unpleasant incident that had occurred many years ago.<sup>17</sup> Now Vasari assuages Michelangelo's still rankling anger, and Ammanati is introduced into the circle of the master's intimate friends. In 1555, after the completion of the del Monte tombs in S. Pietro in Montorio, Ammanati followed Vasari's invitation to return to Florence. A number of letters exchanged between Michelangelo and Ammanati in the following years proves the continuation of a friendship which does great honor to the lesser man.<sup>18</sup>

During those five years in Rome Ammanati's style changed considerably, as F. Kriegbaum has shown in an important paper.<sup>19</sup> The sculptor had come to Rome a confirmed disciple of Jacopo Sansovino; in the del Monte

17. Ammanati, even at that time an ardent admirer of Michelangelo, had entered the master's house and stolen many of his drawings. VASARI-MILANESI, VII, 227.

18. MILANESI, *Lettere di Michelangelo*, Firenze 1875, pp. 535 (1555) and 550 (1559); C. FREY, *Sammlung ausgewählter Briefe an Michelangelo*, Berlin, 1889, pp. 357 (1558), 358 (1558 and 1559), 378 (1560) and 381 (1561).

19. FRIEDRICH KRIEGBAUM: *Ein verschollenes Brunnenwerk des Bartolomeo Ammanati* in: "Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz", III (1929), 71 ff.



FIG. 6. — Bartolommeo Ammanati. — Tomb of Antonio del Monte. — S. Pietro in Montorio, Rome.



tombs a new Michelangelesque element is felt very keenly,<sup>20</sup> not derived directly from the master's work, but transmitted through the paintings of Vasari and Salviati. Ammanati's close collaboration with Vasari during these years sufficiently explains this new influence. It is still seen for some time after his return to Florence, e.g., in the fountain for the Sala dei Cinquecento in the Palazzo Vecchio; but in the fountain of Neptune and other works after 1560 it gradually wears off and the original elements of his style, the Bandinelli and Sansovino

influences, come to the fore again. They had never been absent from his work even at the height of the Vasari influence between 1550 and 1560.

\* \* \*

The bust of *Antonio Galli*—to return to it after this digression — seems to show some vague resemblance to por-

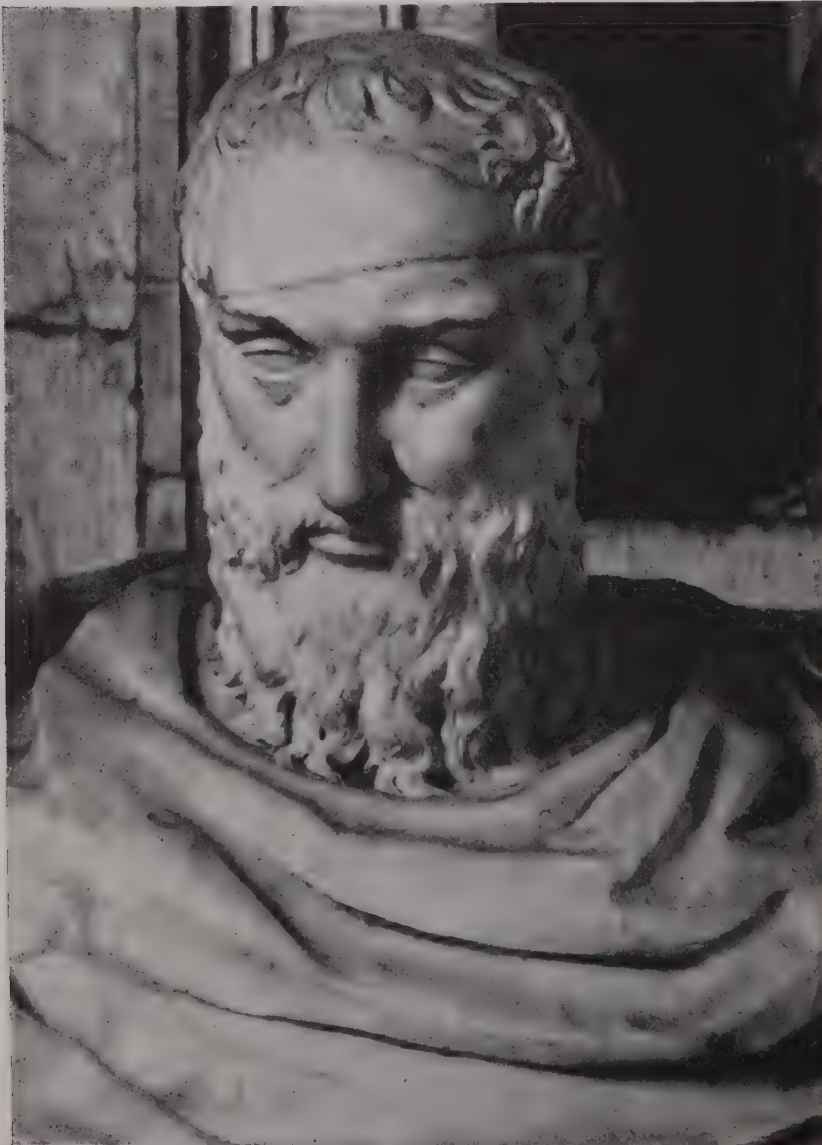


FIG. 7.—Bartolommeo Ammanati. — Tomb of Fabiano del Monte, detail. — S. Pietro in Montorio, Rome.

20. This stylistic influence must of course be distinguished from the mere borrowing of motives from Michelangelo which is frequent in Ammanati's work after his Roman years. One very important instance of such borrowing even before Rome has never been noticed: The *Victory* for the tomb of Mario Nari (VENTURI, *l.c.*, X, 2, 360) is directly copied from the *Victories* in the first two plans for the tomb of Julius II. Another important loan has likewise escaped attention: the *Terra* on the fountain for the Palazzo Vecchio (VENTURI, *l.c.*, X, 2, 397) is inspired by Michelangelo's model for the *Terra* of the Medici Chapel, as will be shown elsewhere.



traits by Bronzino. However, the style of Bronzino's court portraits is largely derived from the same Michel-angelesque source as the new Roman-Florentine court style created by Vasari and Salviati. It is the influence of Vasari, not of Bronzino that can be observed in the severe symmetry and structural firmness of the bust. As the observer follows the very regular arc of the forehead to the point where it meets the cheekbone and the temples, the structure of the skull is revealed more clearly and in more coherent rhythms than could be found in any other contemporary Roman portrait sculpture. There is only one exception: the heads of the two del Montes on Ammanati's



FIG. 8. — Bartolommeo Ammanati. — River god from the Fountain of Neptune. — Piazza della Signoria, Florence.

monuments in S. Pietro in Montorio (Figs. 6 and 7). They share with the bust of *Antonio Galli* the Vasarian traits as well as the luminosity of surfaces and elegance of outline which are derived from Sansovino. The statue of Fabiano retains some lingering features of Bandinelli's style; it was executed before the *Antonio* on the other tomb and the two allegories of *Justice* and *Religion*.<sup>21</sup> Nothing even on the del Monte monuments is so close to our bust as the head of *Fabiano*; despite the difference between bronze and marble there should be no doubt that the two portraits are by the hand of the same sculptor and that the bust follows closely upon the statue.

21. KRIEGBAUM, *l.c.*, p. 95.



The portrait of *Antonio Galli* goes farther into the detail of contemporary costume than any other portrait sculpture done in Rome during the 1550's.<sup>22</sup> Beyond the mere description of design and pattern this interest is extended to texture—recalling a similar sensitivity to rustling silk-like robes with curling edges found in the figures of Antonio del Monte and the two allegories.<sup>23</sup> In either case the colorful handling of drapery, quite unusual at this time in sculpture has its source in Ammanati's close connection with Vasari and Salviati, the painters.

The bust of *Antonio Galli* is Ammanati's first and to our knowledge only portrait bust; it is also his earliest known work in bronze. Soon after his return to Florence in 1555, Ammanati produces the bronze statue of *Mars* (in the Uffizi)<sup>24</sup> and the bronze group of *Hercules and Antaeus* (Fig. 9) for Tribolo's fountain at Castello.<sup>25</sup> These are life size figures. The modeling of such large statues is hardly possible without considerable experience in the technical requirements of bronze sculpture. This is true even when the sculptor leaves the actual casting to experts as Ammanati seems to have done. Our bust now offers proof of his previous experience in bronze work of moderate dimensions.

Although the marble fountain for the Palazzo Vecchio is still related to our bust,<sup>26</sup> the evidence of the bronze statues is more decisive. The head of *Mars* still shows the same metallic precision of modelling; in the *Antaeus* the whirling knots of hair are almost identical with those of the *Galli* bust. Even later, in the '60's, a considerable physiognomical affinity with our bust can be observed in two of the four bronze *River gods* on the fountain of Neptune. They are the two modelled by Ammanati himself: *The bearded old man*, (Fig. 8) and the *Young nymph*. The former looks almost like Antonio Galli grown old: but the

22. The bust of *Uberto Strozzi* (fig. 3) conceals the unusually elaborate costume almost completely under a classical drapery. This bust has been given to Ammanati by GRAMBERG (*l.c.*, p. 51) on the basis of a comparison with the head of *Fabiano del Monte*. If this attribution is correct, then our bust can certainly not be the same master's work. But the comparison with the head of *Fabiano* is far from convincing. (Cf. U. MIDDELDORF, review of GRISEBACH, in: "Art Bulletin," XX, 1938, 116<sup>18</sup>). The style of the drapery is very different; it is flatter and more detailed in the *Strozzi* bust which shows no influence of Sansovino but instead a much stronger one of Bandinelli. GRISEBACH suggested Vincenzo de' Rossi as the author of the *Strozzi* bust. That is impossible, but there were other pupils of Bandinelli in Rome at this time. Battista Lorenzi del Cavaliere is known to have worked a figure for Vincenzo de' Rossi's monument of Paul IV which was destroyed in 1559 (BORGHINI, *Il Riposo*, Florence, 1584, p. 598). Although Lorenzi was born in 1527 or 28 we do not know any of his work previous to ca. 1570 when he did the bust of *Michelangelo* and the statue of *Painting* for the master's monument in S. Croce. The bust of *Michelangelo* (ill. VENTURI, *l.c.* X, 2, 456) is based on Daniele da Volterra's bronze (see: W. STECHOW, in: "Jahrbuch der Preuss. Kunstsammlungen", 1928, p. 28 and VENTURI, *l.c.*, X, 2, 186), but completely changed in style and composition. Despite the interval of more than fifteen years it is very close to the bust of *Strozzi*. Even the statue of *Painting* has strong similarities (comp. the eyes, VENTURI, X, 2, 492, where it is confused with Valerio Cioli's figure of *Sculpture* which is illustrated, as by Lorenzi, on p. 455). Thus the bust of *Uberto Strozzi* may well be the earliest known work of Battista Lorenzi.

23. KRIEGBAUM, *l.c.*, p. 94.

24. Cast in 1559; see KRIEGBAUM, *l.c.*, p. 86. Ill. VENTURI, X, 2, 423.

25. Likewise cast in 1559/60; see: BERTHA WILES, *The fountains of Florentine sculptors*, Cambridge, 1933, pp. 24 and 112.

26. Compare the swinging outline and softly curved planes in the head of *Maturità del Consiglio* (KRIEGBAUM, *l.c.*, fig. 5, VENTURI, *l.c.*, X, 2, 395) and the treatment of the hair in all the figures of this fountain.



style is much broader, reverting in many respects to the Sansovinesque manner of Ammanati's Paduan days.

Even the external evidence points decidedly to Ammanati as the author of our bust. Among the Florentine sculptors in Rome during the '50's: Raffaele da Montelupo, Vincenzo de' Rossi, Simone Mosca, Daniele da Volterra,<sup>27</sup> etc., there is no other whose work betrays the influence of both Bandinelli and Sansovino combined with that of Vasari. Furthermore, none of them was so closely connected with Urbino. Ammanati had been there, probably for the first time, in 1538 when he worked the tomb monument of the duke, Francesco Maria I. In 1550 the sculptor's marriage with Laura Battiferri caused a minor scandal at the court of Urbino which was composed in the following year; there can be no doubt that the name of Ammanati was familiar in Urbino at that time. Later the connection with Urbino was maintained through his father-in-law who lived in that city.<sup>28</sup>

Laura certainly knew Antonio Galli well with whom she had shared the poetic laurels of the ducal court. She knew Annibale Caro equally well who in turn was a close friend of Vasari.<sup>29</sup> If Galli was looking for a sculptor to do



FIG. 9. — Bartolommeo Ammanati. — Hercules and Antaeus, bronze group for Tribolo's fountain at Castello.

27. Daniele da Volterra is the only one among these sculptors who like Ammanati had close personal contact with Michelangelo after 1550. On his bust of *Orazio Pilesi* (in S. Gaetano, Florence), so different in its style from our bust, see: STECHOW, *l.c.*, and the illustration in: VENTURI, *l.c.*, X, 2, 185.

28. In a letter to Michelangelo, written in 1558, Ammanati suggests that his father-in-law might bring the model of the Laurentian staircase from Rome to Florence. FREY, *Briefe*, p. 358.

29. Caro had taken a very active part in persuading Vasari to write his biographies. (VASARI-MILANESI, *l.c.*, VII, 682). In 1553 he wrote the "motto" for Vasari's painting of *Patience*, now in the Uffizi (KALLAB, *Vasari-Studien*, 1908, p. 90).



his portrait he could hardly avoid choosing Ammanati. His acquaintance with Caro no less than with Laura must have led him in that direction.

There is still another possibility. We have seen that the bust appears to have been worked between the statues of *Fabiano* and *Antonio del Monte*, that is presumably in 1552 or the following year. Could it have been a gift from the circle of friends around Michelangelo to the man who was so skillfully taking up the great old master's cause against the rapacity of his own prince?

This is, of course, sheer speculation. But, whether true or not, it is an idea inspired by the enlightened humanity found in this circle and radiating from the face of Antonio Galli.

MARTIN WEINBERGER.







TWO GREAT XVIII CENTURY BALLET MASTERS:  
JEAN-BAPTISTE DE HESSE AND FRANZ HILVERDING

*LA GUINGUETTE AND LE TURC  
GÉNÉREUX*

SEEN BY

G. DE ST. AUBIN AND CANALETTO

THE study of the history of the dance is still a very young science. The development of methods of assembling, classifying, and interpreting historical documents and data on the dance has been but recently begun. Regarding some of the most significant personalities to be found in the history of the newer theatrical dance, few facts outside their names can be gleaned. At the 1944 exhibition of *Five Centuries of Ballet* held in New York (Wildenstein Gallery) there were two ballet scenes of particular character and singular interest. These ballet scenes were represented in pictures which are very well known to art historians because they are the work of renowned artists, but historians of the dance have but scant information about them. As we shall see, their creators are to be ranged among the most striking exponents of the XVIII Century ballet.

One of the pictures portrays an episode from *La Guinguette, Divertissement pantomime du Théâtre Italien, Composé par le Sr. De Hesse* (G. de St.-Aubin Pinx., F. Basan Sc.) (Fig. 1), while the other describes a dramatic moment from *Le Turc Généreux, Ballet Pantomime executé à Vienne sur le Teatre près de la Cour le 26 Avril 1758 . . . (par Ber. Belotti dit Canaletto Peintre de S. M. le Roi de Pol. Elec. de Saxe 1759)* (Fig. 2). Of the choreographer of the ballet *La Guinguette* the exhibition catalogue (No. 101) stated only that De Hesse was *maître de ballet* at Madame de Pompadour's *Théâtre des Petits Appartements*. The catalogue (No. 119) noted no more than that *Le Turc Généreux* is a "version of Act I of *Les Indes Galantes*"; credit for the ballet is assigned to no one.



The two ballets have this in common: any information about contents, composition, and progress has yet to be uncovered in any document. No libretto has been preserved, nor has a description of any sort ever turned up. Desboulmiers<sup>1</sup> and the brothers Parfaict,<sup>2</sup> who occupied themselves with so prodigious a number of performances at the Théâtre-Italien, mention *La Guinguette* only briefly, giving merely the date of the first presentation, August 8, 1750. *La Guinguette* which is designated on the engraving of F. Basan after Gabriel de Saint-Aubin as a *divertissement pantomime*, is characterized by Desboulmiers as a "*ballet pantomime et très-comique*", with the addendum that it was "*toujours repris avec succès*." The authors agree that it was the work of De Hesse.

There are several questions that need to be answered in order to better understand the scenes portrayed in the pictures. One is about the author's personality and artistic nature; another concerns the theme and style of the ballets reproduced here; a third is in regard to the historical background of the performances. Also, while the ballet-master who brought *La Guinguette* into this world is known to us by name, we shall have to search for the creator of the *Turc Généreux*.

\* \* \*

The man behind the Paris ballet was Jean-Baptiste-François De Hesse, one of the best actors of the *Comédie-Italienne* in Paris, and likewise, the XVIII Century's most brilliant ballet-master of this theatre. There is only one possible explanation as to why this imposing figure passed into total oblivion. In Noverre's writings, which supplied later dance-historians with material for their expositions and opinions, there is not the slightest mention of his name. It was during the two decades antedating the publication of Noverre's *Lettres sur la Danse* (1760), that De Hesse was choreographer at the *Théâtre-Italien*, and at the same time the favorite ballet-master of the Royal Court. Thus he belonged, together with the ballet-masters of the *Académie Royale de Musique*, to the circle of men who prevented Noverre from attaining in Paris the rank and repute he felt were even then his due. It is understandable, from a human standpoint, that Noverre did not bear too much love for his most potent rival. He might be forgiven for maintaining in his theoretical works a grave-like silence concerning De Hesse, were it not that De Hesse was Noverre's most important predecessor in the history of the Paris ballet, especially of the *ballet d'action*. Moreover, Noverre had, beyond a doubt, learned a great deal from De Hesse, owing him therefore, no small debt of gratitude. In truth, Noverre criticized with a great deal of contempt the dance as presented at the Paris Opera around 1750. All the more should it have been his duty to emphasize the progress the theatre dance was making

1. J. A. JULIEN, known as DESBOULMIERS, *Histoire du Théâtre Italien*, Paris, 1769.

2. FRANÇOIS ET CLAUDE PARFAICT, *Dictionnaire des Théâtres de Paris*, Paris, 1756.





FIG. 1.—*La Guinguette*, ballet-pantomime by Jean-Baptiste de Hesse. *Maître de Ballet* at the *Théâtre Italien*, in Paris, engraved by F. Basan after Gabriel de St. Aubin.

elsewhere, particularly at the *Théâtre-Italien* in Paris—not to mention in the theatres of Vienna, unknown to him when he wrote his book.

It was the dramatic ballets of Marie Sallé that gave stage dancing its first impetus in this upswing. Among her earliest and most significant successors was De Hesse. Marie Sallé had produced the first of her revolutionary dance-dramas in London in 1734; this was soon followed by a number of others in London and Paris.<sup>3</sup> But even as late as 1740, dance performances which conveyed the action solely by silent movement, instead of having the dances elucidated in the conventional manner by the singing of arias, duets or vaudevilles, were viewed as extraordinary and odd. In the notices, they were largely referred to as "*ballets qui représentaient en scènes muettes*" or "*scènes muettes figurées en ballet*". At

3. EMILE DACIER, *Une Danseuse de l'Opéra sous Louis XV, Mademoiselle Sallé*, Paris, 1909.



the outset, only comic, farcical, and burlesque subjects were worked into these mute ballets. This genre, that had gained great popularity especially in the Paris *Opéra-Comique* even before Marie Sallé, adopted, under English influence, such names as *concert pantomime*, *divertissement pantomime*, and *ballet pantomime*. Thus the term *ballet pantomime* became linked with comic subjects, comic plots, and comic dances of a frequently low character, and remained that way for a long time. This accounted for Noverre's avoiding the name *ballet pantomime* in referring to his dance-dramas, and prompted his coining the expression, *ballet d'action*.

When De Hesse took up his duties as ballet-master of the *Théâtre-Italien*, he found the ballet pantomime there still tied to its burlesque beginnings. Only on rare occasions had a ballet been given that reflected Marie Sallé's influence.

De Hesse (or Dehesse and Deshaies) was born of French parentage in The Hague, Holland, in 1705. In his youth, he appeared as comic actor and dancer in the Netherlands and northern France, particularly at Valenciennes. The autumn of 1734 saw him in Paris, a member (*associé*) of the *Comédie-Italienne*.

It is in January 1737 that we find him mentioned for the first time as choreographer of a dance-divertissement. He is spoken of in a manner which leaves no doubt that he had already passed the test as a creator of dances and ballets. In the company of the *Théâtre-Italien* were some pre-eminent adult dancers. This was in keeping with the tradition of the *Commedia dell'arte* which taught all Italian actors the art of dancing. Within the ranks of the theatre contingency there also grew up a number of children who at an early age won the esteem and affection of the public as highly promising dancers. Like their elders, these budding terpsichoreans were pupils of De Hesse whose ability as a dance-pedagogue rapidly found wide acclaim. The art of his teaching became strikingly apparent to audiences primarily because he did not train his dancers in a mere display of skill but rather in a new style far removed from the conventional technique that was exasperating many patrons of the Paris Opera, including the youthful Noverre. Witnesses, in surprising agreement, attest that De Hesse trained the young dancers to combine with their movements an expressive power "by means of which they touched on the art of the actor." Moreover, it was a remarkable phenomenon to witness in his ballets that the second and third dancers, and even the corps de ballet, were brought to the point where they were able to contribute their share to this art of natural and vivid expression. Thus he developed a style of stage dancing that the critics lauded as "*pittoresque*." They meant, by this, that each of De Hesse's ballets had its individual "picturesque" character, that is, a specific character of movement which was shared by all the dancers on the stage, so that their movements seemed to be part of a unified, balanced, living painting with finely graduated tones. Remarkd one of the



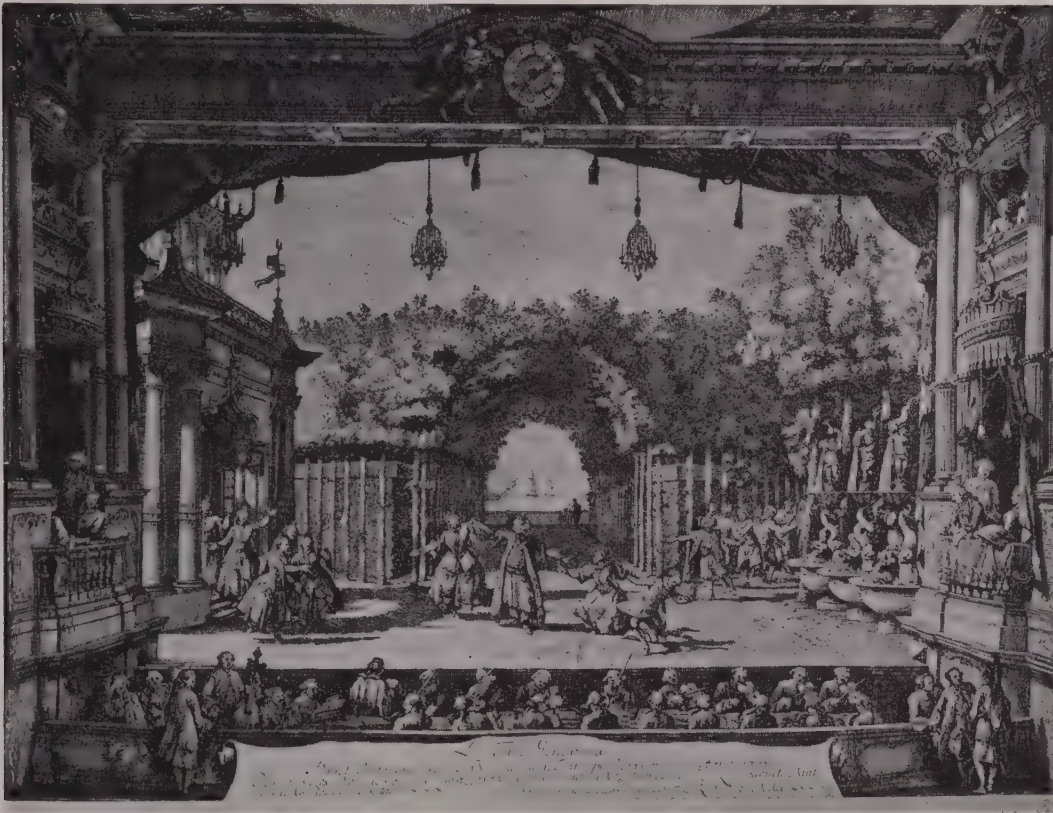


FIG. 2. — *Le Turc Généreux*, ballet-pantomime (1758) by Franz Hilverding, ballet master of the *Théâtre près de la Cour*, in Vienna, engraved by Bernardo Belotto, called Il Canaletto.

critics: "This ingenious ballet-creator must be put down as the Teniers and Watteau of the dance. In his paintings, one always discovered Nature in all her superabundance and with all her manifold gifts." With similar words, the most famous of contemporary dance-critics, Louis de Cahusac, in his *Traité de la Danse* (1754), called to the young dancers: "Look, what lovely 'Teniers' spring up daily from De Hesse's light touch."

It appears, indeed, that De Hesse, who spent his formative years in the world of Flemish paintings, actually took the great Flemish masters as his models. They seem to have fascinated him by their gay naturalness, their rural simplicity and lusty freshness. He began early to mirror the character and style of these paintings in his ballets.

The aristocratic eye of the artist of the Baroque Age saw in the peasants' daily habits and festive activities nothing but the distorted, burlesque manifestations of an inferior, ungainly, ill-mannered class of people. De Hesse, on the other hand, by studying the works of the Flemish painters, schooled his eyes for the vigorous beauty of folk-festivals and for the natural grace of the sturdy



dances and games of the peasants. Certainly, it was an embellished "Nature" which he, as a son of the XVIII Century, produced. The unhampered realism of a later day was as little known to his generation on the stage as it was in the other arts. But nonetheless, it was undistorted Nature that spoke up out of the multifarious dances and festivals of his ballets. One was particularly aware of this in the dance, as something startlingly novel. Thus De Hesse's style leaped to fame and became the prototype of countless ballets which quickly began to emerge on the permanent and traveling stages of mid-XVIII Century Europe.

During that period, only the Viennese ballet-master Franz Hilverding could approach De Hesse in kindred trends and accomplishments or match him in influence and renown. François-Antoine de Chevrier, playwright, historian and excellent connoisseur of the French theatre, wrote of De Hesse in his *Almanach des Gens d'Esprit*, dated 1762: "He has a multitude of talents and before Noverre's advent enjoyed a reputation as the greatest ballet-master of all Europe." (Chevrier never visited Vienna or St. Petersburg and therefore knew nothing of Hilverding whose international prestige was even greater than that of De Hesse.)

The extent to which De Hesse was esteemed as a choreographer during his heyday, is indicated in many letters, memoirs, and literary writings, as well as by the following conclusive proof. When in 1747, Madame de Pompadour set up her own court-theatre at Versailles, the *Théâtre des Petits Cabinets*, it was accepted as a matter of course that she would include a dance-ensemble, for no performance, be it opera, drama, or comedy, was then complete without a ballet, or at least a dance-divertissement. Her choice for the post of *maître de ballet* was not one of the dancers of the *Académie Royale de Musique*, but the ballet master of the *Théâtre-Italien*. Dancing under De Hesse's direction at the *Théâtre des Petits Cabinets*, were not alone Madame de Pompadour herself—a superb dancer—and other ladies and gentlemen of the Court trained in dancing. To De Hesse was assigned the additional task of providing a dance-troupe of boys and girls to work along with the adults at performances, as well as to appear in ballets of their own.

A children's dance troupe was not an uncommon thing in the Europe of that day. Many theatrical companies formed dance units small or large consisting of children who added their own dances to the repertoire, or participated in scenes with the adults. In addition to this, there were during the 1750's a number of celebrated children's companies touring Europe which were acclaimed far and wide for their work in pantomimes and ballets.

Through the generous financial means placed at his disposal by Madame de Pompadour, De Hesse was able to expand the children's troupe of the *Théâtre-Italien* into a company of some twenty boys and girls ranging from nine to twelve years of age. Here he had a fertile field for his unique pedagogical talents, and



FIG. 3. — Camille Véronèse (1735-1768), since 1744, dancer at the *Théâtre Italien*, in Paris (maître des ballets: J-B De Hesse).

many of the children he engaged for this new undertaking later took their places among the foremost dancers of the Paris Opera and the *Théâtre-Italien*: Mlle. Puvignée, Mlle. Marquise, and Mlle. Chevrier, all won great renown as *danseuses* at the Opera. Among the most sought-after *danseuses-actrices* at the *Théâtre-Italien* were soon to be counted Rosalie Astraudi, Catinon Foulquier, and above all, Camille Véronèse (Fig. 3). Of Camille, Charles-Simon Favart,<sup>4</sup> one of the pre-eminent theatrical men of the century, wrote: "One might say, that she dances with her heart. I do not believe that the ancient Greeks could surpass her in the art of pantomime."

"There is something amazing", wrote a critic<sup>5</sup> in 1751, "in the prolificacy of this De Hesse. No year goes by in which he does not produce twelve to

fifteen ballets, either for the court or for the capital. All are delightful and spirited, with intriguing plots that are easily comprehensible and sharply defined. And almost all are totally different each from the other." A great friend of the theatre, the Duc de Luynes, noted in his memoirs<sup>6</sup> that De Hesse's dances were composed "*dans un goût nouveau*." That seems difficult to believe, he appended, but De Hesse "*a un génie surprenant*". M. de Luynes undoubtedly meant by this "new taste" the previously indicated style that reminded other critics of Teniers.

De Hesse created mostly gay, piquant, witty and richly-varied ballets and divertissements. Occasionally, however, he contrived serious dance-dramas and accomplished epoch-making feats in this province too. When in 1753, he presented the ballet *Acis et Galatée*, the brothers Parfaict commented: "Here is a genuine *tragédie-pantomime*. It represents a theatre-genre that, quite apart from its actual value as a stage-work, will unquestionably exert enormous influence, both by the treatment of the subject and the excitement of its originality."

Against this brief sketch of his personal background, De Hesse's *La Guinguette* must be judged. The theme originated in England where *The Tavern*

4. CHARLES-SIMON FAVART, *Mémoires et Correspondance*, Paris, 1808.

5. PIERRE CLÉMENT, *Les Cinq Années Littéraires*, La Haye, 1754.

6. CHARLES-PHILIPPE D'ALBERT DUC DE LUYNES, *Mémoires sur la Cour de Louis XV*, Paris, 1860-1865.





Madame Fogliazzi Angellino. première Danseuse au Théâtre Impérial  
 De la belle Psyché tels sont les traits charmans  
 Qui offrent à nos yeux une image agréable  
 Dont porter dans les cœurs on transporte enorgillé  
 Qui donnent à l'amour un Empire durable.

FIG. 4. — Teresa Fogliazzi-Angiolini, Première Danseuse at the Théâtre près de la Cour, in Vienna, as *Psyché*, (Ballet-master: Franz Hilverding) engraving.

as a setting for pantomimes and ballets had been used for a long time. Three famous English pantomime artists, Roger, Rinton and Haughton, playing an engagement at the Opera-Comique in 1729, were presumably the first to bring a ballet of this title to Paris. In 1731, they achieved resounding success with *La Guinguette Anglaise, divertissement composé de scènes muettes figurées en ballet*. The central theme of such tavern-scenes was love, intrigue and jealousy, a combination that brought the various couples—sometimes only two, but frequently more—into conflict. In order to vary the dances and the costumes, a ballet of this sort was sometimes called *La Guinguette Française*, at other times, *La Guinguette Allemande*, or *L'Estaminette Flamande*. On occasion, one might even come upon a *Guinguette d'Intrigue*.

But these earlier ballets, following the example of the English, regularly

treated the events in the tavern as burlesque, low-comic acts. De Hesse was the first to endow this subject, as he did his other ballets, with a simple, unaffected, amiably jocose, refined character. Saint-Aubin's painting seems to substantiate this. The question arises, as to what degree Saint-Aubin's *La Guinguette* (Fig. 1) is a true-to-life rendering of the scene danced at the *Théâtre-Italien*; in short, how great is its similarity to the original production.

The dancers in all Saint-Aubin's pictures (for example, *Le Bal d'Auteuil* of 1761) (Fig. 8) as well as the acting personages in his theatre-scenes (e.g., *On ne s'avise jamais de tout*, 1761) have slender, attenuated, harmoniously formed, statuesque appearances, with airy, graceful movements and an almost soaring gait. Even soldiers on the attack, or the characters of the *Commedia dell'Arte* (in the scene from the *Carnaval du Parnasse* (Fig. 7), the companion piece to *La Guinguette*) take on this characteristic of Saint-Aubin's. This is most clearly visible in the women, for in spite of their being swathed by the wide, billowy folds of their skirts and mantles, they give the illusion of being lithe and long-limbed. This lends to the soldiers, lackeys, chambermaids and petites bourgeoises dancing in the *Guinguette*

an elegant, noble air,—a far cry from the rustic crudeness of Tenier's peasants.

The French painter clearly had a strong feeling not only for the individuality of the faces but also for what each movement expressed. Each dancer, man or woman, is given a remarkably individual physiognomy. It is almost as if we were looking at portraits; and had we the program at hand, we would most certainly become personally acquainted with the principal constituents of De Hesse's company through Saint-Aubin's picture. Each dancer—notwithstanding the homogeneousness of the dance's skipping rhythm—combines a very personal expression with the gestures of the dance although this expression is completely dissolved in the flow of movement. (The men, incidentally, are more sharply delineated than the women.) If we knew the theme and progress of the ballet and the context from which this scene was taken, we would surely find no difficulty in understanding the meaning of each gesture of the four dancing couples who are just about to be joined by a fifth who will apparently give a dramatic turn to the dance. This specific expressive character may well be a reflection of the intensity of expression in De Hesse's ballets, a quality so often attested to by his contemporaries.

If, indeed, the elegance of Saint-Aubin's figures reflects De Hesse's originals, this choreographer—at least in *La Guinguette*—stood closer to Watteau than to Teniers. However, his dancers probably demonstrated a sufficient number of characteristics of Teniers' to induce the spectators to recall the Flemish master. In his rural ballets the Teniers-side of De Hesse may perhaps have been more clearly predominant than in *La Guinguette*.



*Y. Bodin Première Danseuse du Théâtre Impérial*  
*Amour n'est que l'art de plaire - Ou bien c'est d'être tout d'abord*  
*De voir charmer et d'être aimé - peuvent amener la puissance*  
*Et d'aimer et d'être aimée - sans qu'il ait besoin d'être aimé*

FIG. 5. — Louise Geoffroy-Bodin, *Première Danseuse* at the Théâtre près de la Cour, in Vienna (1755-1764) (Ballet-master: Franz Hilverding) engraved by Jacob Matthias Schmutzer.



ette in which the principals are townspeople and soldiers.

In any event, one gains the impression that the spirit and style of the De Hesse ballet and the character of Saint-Aubin's representation, as left us in the engraving of F. Basan, are intimately related and that consequently this picture conveys to us much of the impression that captivated the audiences at the *Théâtre-Italien* almost two hundred years ago.

\* \* \*

*Le Turc Généreux* (Figs. 2 & 6) is almost certainly the work of Franz Hilverding. Offspring of a Viennese family of actors and dancers, Hilverding was born in 1710 and, as a child, entered the Imperial Court Dance School. It was then customary to send the most talented pupils to Paris, the acknowledged capital of the dance, for a year or two of study at the Kaiser's expense. There they would receive instruction from the most celebrated dancers, and become familiar with the ballet presentations at the foremost theatres.

Presumably about 1735, Hilverding spent two years in the French capital and undoubtedly revisited it from time to time to keep abreast of the progress of the dance there. Thus he was able thoroughly to absorb the new revolutionary styles of Anna Camargo and Marie Sallé. He witnessed De Hesse's efforts to give a new face to the dance at the *Théâtre-Italien*. Doubtless, he came into personal contact with De Hesse, Mlle. Sallé and other leading personalities of the theatre dance.

As we know, Hilverding was a great reader of books, possessed a broad education and was well grounded in all the arts of the theatre. In Paris, and perhaps even earlier in Vienna, he certainly became acquainted with the book that was unconditionally required reading for every art and theatre expert of the time, the "*Réflexions Critiques sur la Poésie et sur la Peinture*" by the Abbé Du Bos.<sup>7</sup> This book, the most influential aesthetic work of the XVIII Century, was of immeasurable value to the dancer. Du Bos, in thoroughgoing discussions, demanded of the modern dancer that, following the example of the dance of antiquity, his art be an *art du geste*, that is, an art of expressive gesture. Other contemporary books on this theme were available to Hilverding in Paris.

All these artistic and intellectual experiences must have made a deep impression on the ambitious young dancer. According to Stefano Arteaga in his renowned work, *Le Rivoluzioni del Teatro Musicale Italiano* (1783), Hilverding, as early as around 1740 was staging dance dramas in Vienna by means of gestures alone without any aid of the spoken word, using for his subjects the plays of Voltaire, Racine and others. In 1742 we discover him in the role of composer of

7. Paris, 1719 (second edition: 1732).



FIG. 6—*Le Turc Généreux*, ballet pantomime (1758) by Franz Hilverding, ballet master of the *Théâtre près de la Cour*, in Vienna, engraved by Bernardo Belotto, called Il Canaletto. (Detail, see Fig. 2.)

ballets at the *Theater am Kaerntner Tor*, and about three years later, while still active there, he received an appointment as ballet-master of the Court theatre—the *Théâtre près de la Cour*. When in 1752 the two theatres were placed under a common management, Hilverding stayed on as ballet-master of both, and retained this post until the early part of 1759. He had an enormous responsibility on his hands. Each of the theatres performed a ballet every night, and very often there were two on the program. In addition, ballets were frequently given exclusively for the court-circle at the theatres of the Laxenburg and Schoenbrunn castles.

Through this activity, Hilverding soon rose to the position of the most esteemed ballet-master of Europe. (De Hesse's fame, notwithstanding M. de Chevrier's opinion, was confined chiefly to Western Europe). To quote from a letter dated 1755 by the illustrious librettist, Pietro Metastasio,<sup>8</sup> Hilverding trained his dancers "*per l'espressione degli affetti . . . d'insinuarsi nel cuore.*" (to insinuate themselves into the spectators' hearts by the expression of emotions). What was accomplished by the dancers under his direction is indicated by another contemporary<sup>9</sup> with a different viewpoint, in his comment that Hilverding "*qui joint à l'exacte connaissance de son art, une étude continuée des Belles-Lettres, de la Fable, de la Peinture, de la Musique etc., donne à ses ballets un ensemble et une précision peu commune.*"

Many of the best French and Italian dancers were drawn to this man as if to a magnet and considered themselves fortunate indeed to dance for years in either of the two Vienna companies under his direction. Gasparo Angiolini, his star pupil, and also his successor as ballet-master in Vienna and later in St. Petersburg, has proclaimed Hilverding's greatness and fame in memorable words. Like De

8. Pietro Metastasio, *Opere Postume*, Vienna, 1795.

9. Otto Teuber, *Das k. k. Hofburgtheater seit seiner Begründung*, Vienna, 1896.



Hesse, Hilverding year after year composed many comic, folksy ballets whose subjects he drew from country life, soldier life, and everyday happenings in the city. But to a greater degree than De Hesse, he created serious, tragic dance-dramas that required from the dancers extraordinary power and versatility in the expression of emotions.

To relieve Hilverding of a measure of his burden, Count Giacomo Durazzo, the manager of both court theatres, employed annually from the year 1754 on, ranking foreign ballet-masters to stage ballets along with Hilverding in the *Theater am Kaerntner Tor* and, occasionally, also in the *Théâtre près de la Cour*.

Thus it was that for three successive years a prominent Italian ballet master, Giuseppe Salamon, worked in Vienna and was followed in the theatre season of 1756-57 by the Dresden ballet-master, Antoine Pitrot, and the Parisian dancer Pietro Sodi, a native of Italy (the very same, incidentally, who in 1774 emerged as Dancing Master in Philadelphia). But there is no information to indicate that a foreign ballet-master was also active in Vienna in 1758. It is true that since Easter of 1757, Gasparo Angiolini, who had for a long time previously danced under Hilverding, was re-engaged as first dancer, together with his wife, Teresa Fogliazzi (Fig. 4). But he appears to have created no ballets of his own in Vienna prior to 1759.

Thus all known facts point to the inference that it was Hilverding who received the commission from Count Durazzo to produce the ballet *Le Turc Généreux* in the spring of 1758. Durazzo had in addition, a very special motive for entrusting this job to his famed ballet-master with whom none of the invited choreographers of the foregoing years could vie for creative power. The Count projected, at the time, a gala performance intended to do homage to a highly important political guest of the Viennese court. This notable was Turkey's special envoy, Resmi Achmed Effendi, who arrived in Vienna in April 1758, to notify the court of the accession to the throne of the new sultan, Mustafa III. On April 17, the emperor granted an audience to this Turk, and two days later the Effendi was admitted into the presence of the Empress. After each audience, the envoy, according to the documents of the Viennese State Archives, was "munificently entertained". The festivities in honor of the envoy reached their climax on April 26, with a theatrical soiree that featured the ballet pantomime *Le Turc Généreux*, presumably together with one of Gluck's or Sedaine's comic operas, so very well liked in the Vienna of that day.

The emperor had probably bade Count Durazzo well in advance to prepare a ballet with subject-matter suitable to the occasion, and when Durazzo transmitted the order to his ballet-master, the latter recalled the *acte turc* in the first and best-known ballet-opera of Rameau, *Les Indes Galantes*. Hilverding must surely have seen this oft-performed opera in Paris. *Les Indes Galantes* was one

of those operas in which every act told its own story in such a manner that the three acts were blended by a common idea. The Turkish act which represented an historical occurrence, dealt with the story of a Turkish Pasha, who out of generosity and humane feelings, grants liberty to a young French couple. The theme was so well suited to the occasion, that a more fitting one could hardly have been conceived.



FIG. 7. — *Le Carnaval du Parnasse*, *Ballet héroïque* by Fuzelier and Mondonville (1749); scene from the first act, engraved by F. Basan after Gabriel de St. Aubin.

Fuzelier, the author of the opera-libretto, had given this romantic story the simplest possible form in order to adapt it to the framework of a single act. Emilie, kidnapped by a band of corsairs, has been sold to the Turkish Pasha Osman. He becomes enamoured of her but being true to the memory of her beloved, she refuses his suit. Brooding over her loneliness at the ocean side, she observes some shipwrecked sailors tossed upon the shore during a thunderstorm. Among them, she recognizes Valère, her lover. Joy over their re-union gives



way to despair over their lot as captives. The couple, absorbed in each other, are surprised by the Pasha. But Osman immediately reassures them: "Receive from me, Valère, both Emilie and your freedom!" declaring, to everyone's incredulous astonishment that he himself was once a slave of Valère's and was set free by the young Frenchman who had never discovered his identity. The Turc heaps gifts upon the happy pair and gives them leave to voyage home.

Hilverding obviously recast Fuzelier's libretto in order to give the action a stronger dramatic interest. This is borne out by the exact scene which was immortalized by Canaletto (Figs. 2 & 6) and is, without question, the most stirring and gripping scene of the ballet. In the opera version, the Pasha knew at the first moment of their meeting that the shipwrecked stranger was his erstwhile deliverer (how he learned this, the audience is not informed). In the ballet, on the other hand, he spies his adored slave in intimate conversation with a stranger and is overcome with jealousy and rage to such an extent, that he draws his dagger and is poised to kill the intruder.

To give this climactic scene more intense drama, Hilverding created a second female lead (perhaps a favorite wife of the Pasha, or his sister), who thrusts herself into the action at precisely this instant. She has followed him out of the palace and now reaches for the hand that is ready to deal the fatal blow. By this act the Pasha gains time to recover his senses, and regarding the stranger more closely, recognizes him as his former master.

Canaletto, in choosing to catch this very moment with his etching-needle, has, as a consequence, rendered dance-history an inestimable service.

He has conserved the memory of a ballet which would otherwise have been lost to us; a ballet which conveys much of the spirit and style of its creator even though it may not be one of Hilverding's more important efforts. The dramatic suspense experienced could hardly be surpassed for effectiveness.

Four principal characters come into the picture: Valère, who in fright and despair has sunk to his knees and turned away from the upraised weapon; behind him, Emilie also kneels, but faces the Pasha, pleads with him and wards him off; the Pasha himself in the center of the scene, at once menacing and hesitant; and finally, the Turkish woman, who has at this moment stepped up and thrown her outstretched arm over his. They have gathered in a single row that diagonally intersects the middle of the stage. The taut drama of the scene is reflected in this spatial tension that has just now drawn the four persons together and will directly tear them asunder.

At this juncture in the ballet a group of Turkish warriors from the background on the right, and a group of harem women from the palace gate on the left enter the scene. The men move with quick, firm strides and the women with light, hasty steps, their uplifted arms expressing their agitation. Thus they hasten

from their respective points of entrance to the central group,—the two groups being like some multi-voiced yet clearly articulated accompaniment to the four main “voices”. It would not be difficult to reconstruct the ensuing acts.

That Hilverding produced an engrossingly dramatic ballet is clearly evident in Canaletto's etching.

This occurred three years before 1761, a cardinal year in dance history, when Noverre created his first Stuttgart *ballets d'action* and Angiolini, showing himself to be a worthy disciple of Hilverding's, presented his *Don-Juan* ballet in Vienna.

Unfortunately, there are only a few vague facts known about those who danced the leading roles in *Le Turc Généreux*.

The *Théâtre près de la Cour* had, in 1758, three first dance teams, the couples Louise Geoffroi-Bodin (Fig. 5) and Pierre Bodin, Jeanne Campi-Mécour and Louis Mécour, Teresa Fogliazzi-Angiolini and Gasparo Angiolini.

Mme. Bodin was pregnant during this year and it was not until October 3, 1758, that she once more took up her theatrical career. Which of the two other women portrayed the part of



FIG. 8. — *Le Bal d'Auteuil* (1761), engraving by Gabriel de St. Aubin.

Emilie and which the subordinate role of the Turkish lady, is not known. Neither of the women on Canaletto's etching resembles Teresa Fogliazzi as she appeared as *Psyché* in the well-known anonymous Viennese engraving (Fig. 4).

A portrait of Mme. Mécour does not exist, or at any rate, has not been brought to light. Just as little is known about the men dancers, though it can be presumed that Angiolini enacted the part of Valère.



Canaletto, the famous court painter of August III, King of Poland and Elector of Saxe, was not present at the ballet's first showing on April 26, 1758. It was not until the following spring that he came from Dresden to Vienna, where he remained for about two years. He must certainly have seen the *Turc Généreux* shortly after his arrival, and probably more than once during his stay, for he could not otherwise have singled out the focal scene, and with such a sure hand, reproduced it so faithfully and effectively.

When he attended the *Turc Généreux* during the spring of 1759, Mme. Geoffroi-Bodin had been dancing again in the *Théâtre près de la Cour* for half a year. It is not far-fetched to assume that after her return to the stage she took over the role of Emilie even though she had not performed it at the first night in April of 1758. And does not the *Emilie* of Canaletto's engraving (Fig. 6) with her high, open forehead and the firm, resolute chin very closely resemble Madame Geoffroi-Bodin as she appears on Schmutzer's portrait (Fig. 5)?

In November 1758, the Empress Maria Theresia, at the wish of Tsarina Elizabeth, had given Hilverding permission to visit St. Petersburg and take up residence there as ballet-master for a number of years. He left Vienna sometime in May, 1759. This might serve to clarify why Canaletto neglected to indicate the author of the ballet in the caption of his picture.

The Mécours followed Hilverding to St. Petersburg. Mme. Angiolini forsook the stage at this period to present her husband with their first son. It can therefore be assumed that with Hilverding's departure, or not long afterward, the *Turc Généreux* disappeared from the ballet repertoire.

ARTUR MICHEL.





## THE “UNFROCKING” DRAWINGS OF FRANCISCO DE GOYA

EVER since the first biographies of Goya were published, there has been a controversy over the extent to which the artist shared in the ideas spread by the French Revolution. Those who have denied Goya's adherence to these ideas have taken great—though fruitless—pains to minimize the significance of the etchings and drawings which assail beliefs and institutions in a vein that could only have gratified the followers of that revolutionary thought. To be sure, not all those institutions and beliefs were newly discovered targets, for several of them, like social privileges, superstition, or even superstition-colored religion had been under fire during most of the XVIII Century. Making all due allowances for this fact, however, there still remains a number of drawings and etchings which might seem to make idle any discussion of Goya's philosophical leanings. They are so obvious, indeed, as to lead to the danger that their actual



nature may be misunderstood by those who are not to be satisfied with anything less than a Goya as the stubborn standard-bearer of the Revolution. And yet, with respect to revolutionary, as to many other ideas, Goya's artistic response was more subtle than any ordinary reading of his works as modern cartoons can suggest. That appears to be evident from a study of a group of five wash drawings in the Prado Museum, the theme of each of which is the unfrocking of one or two members of religious orders.

These wash drawings, as is the case with a number of others by Goya, bear two numbers, one on the upper, and the other on the lower, right-hand corner: the first, sometimes amended, is assumed to have been given by Goya himself when he collected the drawings for purposes which still remain a matter of conjecture; the second was written by the artist's first Spanish biographer, Don Valentín Carderera, who owned them at one time. But there is nothing to indicate that Carderera intended to arrange them chronologically. And since the purposes of these two differing numerations remain problematic, there seems little excuse for hope that they can tell us the actual sequence in which the drawings were executed.

One of the five "unfrocking" drawings, *If I am not mistaken he is about to leave off his habit* (Fig. 1), has been placed apart from the others, well ahead of them in Goya's, well after them in Carderera's, numeration.<sup>1</sup> Mayer distinguishes this drawing from the rest as a "late wash drawing,"<sup>2</sup> while Sánchez Cantón considers it to be the one which "initiates the theme that Goya developed some years later in several drawings."<sup>3</sup>

It would seem as if each of the two old numerations—acknowledged to be without chronological meaning—had somehow suggested to these critics a different classification. But since Mayer's dating is merely approximate, and there is no pretension to conclusiveness in his catalogue, we shall rather discuss here Sánchez Cantón's recent criticism of these drawings. It may be summarized as follows:

The five drawings, excepting *If I am not mistaken he is about to leave off his habit*, were done in 1809, the date of the secularizing laws of Joseph Napoleon. The excepted drawing was done several years before, and its caption added at

1. The following is a list of the drawings with their captions, preceded by Goya's and Carderera's numbers, the latter in parenthesis: 18 (105), *Si no me engaño ba á dejar el avito* ("If I am not mistaken, he is about to leave off his habit", Fig. 1); 127 (7), *Se desnuda pa. siempre* ("He takes off his habit for ever", Fig. 3); 129 (5), *Tambien lo dejan estas* ("These also leave it off", Fig. 4); 130 (4), *Lo cuelga rabiado* ("He hangs it away in a rage", Fig. 2); 131 (3), *Esta lo deja pensativa* ("This one leaves it off pensively", Fig. 4).—I have not modified Goya's spelling.

2. AUGUST L. MAYER, *Francisco de Goya* (tr. R. WEST), London, 1924, Catalogue, nos. 312, 313, 314, 343, and 362. MAYER includes *Esta lo deja pensativa* (no. 343) among the *Prisoners* series.

3. F. J. SÁNCHEZ CANTÓN, *Museo del Prado, Goya, II, Dibujos inéditos y no coleccionados*, Madrid, 1941, no. 121.



FIG. 1. — GOYA. — *Si no me engaña, ba á dejar el avito*. — Prado Museum, Madrid.

the time when the others were drawn, for "the very devout attitude" of this monk "contradicts the inscription" in the drawing.<sup>4</sup>

Now there is in this critique a clear implication that by 1809 Goya's mind had undergone a change which would make him try to divest a drawing of the meaning he had originally intended to convey. It sounds as if underlying Sánchez Cantón's point of view, there were Zapater's old palliative account: "Goya, now flattered by Fortune, and stirred by the new ideas spreading throughout Europe in the wake of armies victorious in lands alien to Spain, was breathing in an atmosphere anything but pure."<sup>5</sup>

Be this as it may, Sánchez Cantón's dat-

ings seem to rest on the belief that Goya's drawings should be considered as records of strictly contemporary events, as well as upon the assumption that Goya could not depict piety when he represented a religious in the act of unfrocking. But it appears to me that another approach to the subject might lead to the suggestion of a more probable date for the drawings, as well as to a less episodal interpretation of their meaning.

4. *Ibid.* See also no. 167.

5. FRANCISCO ZAPATER Y GÓMEZ, *Goya, Noticias biográficas*, First ed., Zaragoza, 1868, in: *Goya, cuadros y dibujos, biografía, epistolario*, Madrid, 1924, p. 45.



It will not be amiss, I believe, to try to discover whether there are differences in media and treatment which could justify the assumption that they were made at different periods. All the "unfrocking" series are wash drawings; three of them, including the one thought to have been made several years before, are in India ink (Figs. 1, 4, and 6); another is in India ink with a very few touches of sepia (Fig. 2), and the fifth is entirely in sepia ink (Fig. 3). These differences in media, however, do not necessarily justify separating the last two from the others, as Goya, according to Boix and Sánchez Cantón, probably began to make use of sepia while still working in India ink.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, we know that he made use of both in such a late drawing as *Bird hunters with decoy*, Metropolitan Museum of Art (Fig. 7), which Sánchez Cantón dates as of the period 1819-1823.<sup>7</sup>



FIG. 2. — GOYA. — *Lo cuelga rabiioso*. — Prado Museum, Madrid.

Still, there is a difference between one pair of these drawings and the rest. Both *If I am not mistaken he is about to leave off his habit* (Fig. 1) and *He hangs it away in a rage* (Fig. 2) differ somewhat from the others in the larger size of the figures. Moreover, the analogy between the interplay of lights and shadows in both drawings is obvious; in one of them (Fig. 1) a white, shadowed figure stands out against the darkness of the background, in the upper part of which there is a lighted open space; in the other (Fig. 2), a dark figure, lighted

6. FÉLIX BOIX AND F. J. SÁNCHEZ CANTÓN, *Museo del Prado, Goya, I, Dibujos inéditos*, Madrid, 1928, Introduction.

7. Review of HARRY B. WEHLE's *Fifty Drawings by Goya* (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Papers*, no. 7, New York, 1938) in: "Archivo Español de Arte," Madrid, no. 40 (July-August, 1940), pp. 45-46. WEHLE dates this drawing about 1819.

here and there, stands out against the background, the lightness of which is overshadowed by the massive habit hanging at the left. But what actually distinguishes these two drawings from the rest of the series is the size of the figures in relation to the backgrounds, which would not suggest that they might belong with some of Goya's earlier drawings.

As for the others (Figs. 3, 4, and 6) it should be unnecessary to point out the close similarities among them. But it would be useful, I believe, to note the correspondence between at least one of them (Fig. 6) and one belonging to the *encorozados* series, *P. mover la lengua de otro modo* ("Because he wagged his tongue in a different way"), Prado Museum (Fig. 5), considered by Sánchez Cantón to be posterior to the suppression of the Inquisition by Joseph Napoleon in 1809.<sup>8</sup> Indeed, in both these drawings, the relation of the figures to the very lightly sketched backgrounds is much the same; in each one, the figure is planted in a dark area—a shadow in the latter (Fig. 5), and the falling habit in *Esta lo deja pensativa* (Fig. 6); in the two, moreover, the lighted spots going down from the elbows have much the same character.

One may, then, conclude that none of the "unfrocking" drawings was executed before 1809. And, if one makes due allowance for Goya's fancy, one may venture to suppose it more probable that the whole series was executed in the 1810's, perhaps with some interval between the two- and three-drawing groups (Figs. 1 and 2; and 3, 4, and 6, respectively).

Were there any need for associating these drawings with the date of a political situation, one might think of the years 1814-1820 when the need of reenacting the secularizing laws (which was done in the latter year) was impressing liberal minds. As for *Because he wagged his tongue in a different way* (Fig. 5), which Sánchez Cantón considers must be posterior to the suppression of the Inquisition in 1809, it would be more natural, indeed, to suppose that it was drawn after its reestablishment (1814-1820).

Nevertheless, as witness among other works of Goya the *Execution of the Madrid Patriots by the French on May 3rd, 1808*, painted not before 1814, and the lithograph of the Spanish popular dance *El Vito* made in Bordeaux in 1825—there is no need to associate these drawings with the time of the particular events to which they may refer; and much less so when even the most obstinate naturalistic mind would not consider them, I presume, as having been sketched from life.

\* \* \*

We come now to the problem of the meaning of these drawings, one of which

8. See Goya, II, *Dibujos inéditos y no coleccionados*, nos. 149 and 151. *Encorozado* was the name given to those condemned by the Inquisition to wear a *coroza*, which was a cone-shaped pasteboard cap about three feet high; in addition they wore a *sanbenito* or scapular-shaped yellow garment with a large St. Andrew's cross of a red color, before and behind. Usually on both the *coroza* and the *sanbenito* there were figures or inscriptions referring to the penitent's crime.



Sánchez Cantón has been led to assume had its genuine signification changed by a later caption.

Doubtless the opinion that *If I am not mistaken he is about to leave off his habit* (Fig. 1) must have been done before the happening its caption would seem to refer to, rests on the assumption that the devout attitude of this kneeling monk would be incompatible with the mood in which Goya would have executed the other four "unfrocking" drawings. None of the four, however, betrays a feeling on the part of the artist which contradicts the mood prevailing in the other drawing.

There is certainly an expression of devotion in the monk who, kneeling before a cross and a skull against a background overshadowed by the silhouette of a church, displays with his suppliant gesture the habit he is about to discard. While

his head bends forward, his widespread, lifted hands—subtly shadowed—stand out against both the whiteness of the upper part of the habit, and the shadows of the rest of the garb as well as the dark background. The front panel of the habit, upon which he seems to be gazing, comes down to the very foreground. Everything in the drawing—the backdrop of the church, the cross and the skull at the left—has been set as a foil to the shadowed white robe which, in turn, helps to enhance the faintly lighted hands. And these hands, more than the shadowy face, convey the idea of prayerfulness.



FIG. 3. — GOYA. — *Se desnuda pa. siempre.* — Prado Museum, Madrid. Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library.

It is true that in *He hangs it away in a rage* (Fig. 2) there is vividly expressed the somewhat petulant rage in which this monk submits to secularization. But again here the expression is by no means dependent on the caption. It is rather conveyed by the bull-like build of the

monk's shoulders coupled with the bulk of the hung-up garb. The vertically shadowed folds of the lower part of this habit enhance the sharp intercrossing of lights and shadows which help to impart a sense of motion to the whole human figure; on the other hand, the sleeves of the hung-up habit somewhat echo the gesture of the hands which, vehemently thrust backwards, seem to be busy with some sort of unbuttoning. The same queer blend of vehemence and application to a minute task is also visible in the monk's facial expression; the brutish traits show him to be out of temper, while the half-closed eyes and the compressed lips show his concentration on the act of disrobing.

Very different is the expression of the friar in *He takes off his habit for ever* (Fig. 3). The fragility of his figure is accentuated by the broken line which, a little thicker at the ear and shoulder, moves down to the end of the shirt, while the rest of the body is indicated by faint lines. With a meek expression on his face (which has been drawn darker), he seems to be turned away from a direct gaze at his surroundings. The discarded dark habit lies on the floor, while he is partly bent and holding the garment which rolls down to his feet. In contrast with the darkened head, the whiteness of his left forearm and what is visible of his shoulders intimate the idea of nakedness, a nakedness of which the fragile figure, crouching under the shirt, appears to feel ashamed.

A like feeling of bashfulness is expressed in *These also leave it off* (Fig. 4). Here are two nuns; the one in the background, her face faintly sketched under the unruffled hair, folds up the discarded garb, while the other, her back turned, has her head buried in the habit that she is pulling off. The heaviness of this



FIG. 4. — GOYA. — *Tambien lo dejan estas*. — Prado Museum, Madrid. Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library.





FIG. 5. — GOYA. — *P.º mover la lengua a otro modo*. — Prado Museum, Madrid.

habit—strongly shadowed like the other—is balanced by the white shift, the ample folds of which still cover the nun's form from above the waist to her feet.

The drawing *This one leaves it off pensively* (Fig. 6) seems to embody a more complex feeling. The nun who is taking off her habit shows a countenance so deeply plunged in thought as to make unnecessary the caption which tells us about her pensiveness. Her listless attitude emphasizes the meditative expression of her face, and at the same time contributes to the almost sculptural pose of her figure, the contour of which—the curves delineating the roundness of the

breasts, the lines of the waist—is not altogether hidden by the ungraceful shift. The faint touches used by Goya in sketching these feminine traits take away any connotation that either the most skeptical or most pious beholder could have looked for.

It is just in this balance between the physical form and the pensiveness of the nun forced to enter the secular life that Goya attains the poignancy of this drawing. He does not let either of the two elements—cheerfulness or sadness—overpower the other, as he does not exalt the emotions he portrays. Thus, his attitude is not to be identified with such revolutionary behaviour as might subordinate the individually distressing reality of the situation to an inordinate delight in the deliverance of the members of religious orders from non-rationalistic bondage, where they could forsake their prejudices. We do not see in these

drawings a meaning like that expressed by a number of revolutionary songs, where, among diatribes against the friars' "odd disguises", there are offerings from Venus and Love to the nuns whose charms are being returned to the world by the legislators, "those famous philosophers":

*Venez d'un costume nouveau*

*Essayer la parure:*

*L'amour vous offre son bandeau*

*Et Vénus sa ceinture.<sup>9</sup>*

If, in short, we cease trying to "read" these drawings as commentaries—and preferably bitter ones—on political happenings, and look at them rather as Goya's universal expressions of human emotion, we may arrive at a better understanding of them, an understanding which, at least, will have the advantage of not forcing any one of the drawings out of the series in order to accommodate the rest to our own special views.

And we should do well to realize that—unlike other drawings and etchings in which Goya expresses himself more or less symbolically—this series does not aim at depicting the abuses and wretchedness of the religious orders. The artist here seems rather to be concerned with human predicaments arising from the eradication of those evils.

9. See *Poésies révolutionnaires et contre-révolutionnaires, ou Recueil, classé par époques, des Hymnes, Chants guerriers, Chansons républicaines, Odes, Satires, Cantiques des missionnaires, etc., etc., les plus remarquables qui ont paru depuis trente ans*, Paris, 1821, I, 195-199.



FIG. 6. — GOYA. — *Esta lo deja pensativa*. — Prado Museum, Madrid. Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library.



On the other hand, it would be equally fictitious to assume that Goya was approaching sarcastically the individual emotions he was portraying. Probably he was never so bitter a revolutionary as that. There is, in fact, nothing sarcastic about these plastic renderings of prayerfulness, meekness, bashfulness, pensiveness, and wrath pervading the nuns and monks who are being thrust into secular life.

Indeed, in these drawings—as in *The Disasters of War*, where he views the conflict between universal ideas and human behaviour, courageous or otherwise—Goya seems unfalteringly to give shape to what, to his rationalistic approach, are but pitiful results of man's absurdities.

And he seems to leave it at that.

JOSÉ LÓPEZ-REY.



FIG. 7. — GOYA. — Bird hunters with decoy. — Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum.



# DAUMIER PÈRE AND DAUMIER FILS

IT IS recorded in the municipal archives of Marseille that, at three o'clock on the afternoon of February 26, 1808, a son was born to Jean-Baptiste Daumier and his wife, Cécile-Catherine Philip. At eleven the following morning the father went with two witnesses to enter a record of the birth at the *mairie*. Already a name had been chosen for the child; he was to be called Honoré-Victorin.<sup>1</sup> His birthplace, a house in the former Place Saint Martin, was long thought to have been taken down in 1889 when ground was cleared for a new post office in that quarter, but M. A. Grass-Mick, an artist and resident of Marseille, proved that it was still in existence in 1927. A short time after his discovery, however, the building was actually demolished, in spite of a vigorous campaign of protest in the local papers.<sup>2</sup> It was a six-storied tenement, L-shaped in plan, with commerical quarters on the ground floor. Here, quite probably, was located the shop of Daumier *Père*, who was a glazier by trade.

Jean-Baptiste Louis Daumier was a native of Marseille,<sup>3</sup> the son of a glazier of that town. Official records show that he was born in 1777.<sup>4</sup> After learning to read and write at school, he began, at about the age of twelve, an apprentice-

1. *Mairie de Marseille. 1er arrondissement. Commune Département des Bouches-du-Rhône. Registre No. 1.808-1. Fo. 95.* Document given in full by A. GRASS-MICK, *La lumière sur Daumier*, Marseille, 1931, p. 12. The date of 1810 instead of 1808, or February 27 instead of February 26, has been given for Daumier's birth; and the error has been frequently copied.

2. GRASS-MICK, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-66. With plans, sketches, and a list of periodical and newspaper articles.

3. ARSÈNE ALEXANDRE (*Honoré Daumier, l'homme et l'oeuvre*, Paris, 1888, pp. 17f.) and many writers following him, state that J. B. Daumier was born in Beziers, and his wife in Marseille. Research in the municipal archives has shown that he was born in Marseille; and that Mine. Daumier came from Entrevaux (Basses-Alpes) and lived in Marseille only seven years before her marriage. See article on Honoré Daumier by ANDRÉ GOURAND in: PAUL MASSON (ed.), *Les Bouches-du-Rhône, Encyclopédie départementale*, Marseille, 1914, Vol. VI. (*La vie intellectuelle*), p. 416.

4. GRASS-MICK, *op. cit.*, p. 79.



ship under his father in the trade he was to inherit. A taste for meditation kept him from joining the society of his fellow workers; and led to an early discovery (with the aid of a bookseller, his father's friend) of his unusual literary inclinations. Soon he was reading Virgil's *Georgics* in the translations of the Abbé Jacques Delille,<sup>5</sup> and also the works of Racine and Jean-Jaques Rousseau. He bought these curiously assorted books with money received for Sunday diversions, and later exchanged them in order to get the complete works of Condillac. Passing his twentieth year, he took a wife "of his choice and in keeping with his station", and went to live in a small country house near Marseille, a Provencal *bastide* that belonged to his family.<sup>6</sup> It was here that, finding his imagination set free, he began to write poetry during hours of leisure, in a style that showed how much he had been impressed by Rousseau's romantic communion with nature. His verses reveal him as an ardent spirit, with a great faith in his literary ability. With an idealism that blinded him to the limitations of his position and his meagre education, he sought a career with academic honors and patronage from the great—even royalty itself. In 1811 he submitted two of his efforts to the Academy of Marseille: *Un Matin de Printemps*, a poem, and *Philippe II*, a tragedy in verse, written with admiring glances at Racine, but based on a prose version of *Don Carlos* by the Abbé de Saint-Réal. These were favorably received, but their author was not taken into membership.<sup>7</sup> In the secretary's report for that year it is noted that the society owes thanks to several writers (here the glazier's name is listed with five others, and misspelled "Daunier") for having addressed "pieces of poetry that proclaim talent perfected by solid studies".<sup>8</sup>

This was small encouragement, but supported by friendly applause and counsel it was apparently enough for the confidence of the poet. Some time near the beginning of the year 1815 he closed shop in Marseille,<sup>9</sup> and took his family to settle in Paris, with the view of enlarging his fortunes. This move required a great deal of courage in such insecure and unprosperous times. We are told that

5. In his poem *Un matin de printemps* he expressed lyrically his indebtedness to Delille.

6. Publisher's preface to J. B. DAUMIER's *Les veilles poétiques*, 1823, pp. 1-6. Some of this biographical datum was repeated by CHAMFLEURY in: *Histoire de la caricature moderne*, Paris, 1865, pp. 13f; and by EDMOND PILON, *Le centenaire d'Honoré Daumier*, in: "Revue Politique et Littéraire", 5th. ser., Vol. IX, No. 8, February 22, 1908, pp. 243-246.

7. J. B. LAUTARD, *Histoire de l'Académie de Marseille, depuis sa fondation en 1726, jusqu'en 1826*, Marseille, 1829, 2d part, pp. 399 and 361, Footnote. The mistaken idea that J. B. Daumier was a member of the Academy was corrected by RAYMOND ESCHOLIER, *Daumier à Marseille*, in: "Figaro", July 16, 1922 (where he quotes a letter from M. Gambel, secretary of the academy); and in *Daumier*, Paris, 1923, p. 7. The publisher of *Les veilles poétiques* states, rather equivocally, that the Academy "admitted [the author] to the number of members of its literary circle". (*Preface*, p. 7.)

8. *Mémoires publiés par l'Académie de Marseille*, Vol. IX, Année 1811 (I), p. 21.

9. LOYS DELTEIL's suggestion, near the end of 1814 (*Honoré Daumier (le peintre-graveur illustré)*, Paris, 1925-1930, Vol. I, *preface*), is reasonably correct. In: *Les veilles poétiques (preface, p. 3)* 1815 is mentioned as the approximate time. CHAMFLEURY, writing in 1865, says that the family was in Marseille in 1814. (*Histoire de la caricature moderne*, p. 13). Though 1816 is sometimes given as the date, this is unlikely, since J. B. DAUMIER's book was published in Paris the previous year.



*Le Contre-fie l'Édition entière paraitra la présente & pourvue.  
Paris le 20. Décembre 1822.  
G. Engelmann*

FIG. 1. — Attributed to Honoré Daumier. — *La Promenade à Romainville*, lithograph, 1822. — Musée Carnavalet, Paris.  
Photo. M. Rigal, Paris.

his resources were entirely insufficient for his family, because of the competition of traveling glaziers and the generally unsettled state of affairs.<sup>10</sup> Napoleon had been sent to Elba the previous April, and the provisions imposed by the Allies at the Treaty of Paris did not make for the prestige of the feeble monarchy. No doubt the poet, unconcerned with the realities of politics, saw in the restoration of the Bourbons the dawn of a new era of royal munificence. At any rate, he composed an ode to Louis XVIII, though this was to remain in his portfolio for a few years.<sup>11</sup> Perhaps there had been no opportunity to make a formal presentation before the confused exodus of the king at the beginning of the Hundred Days in March, 1815.

Nevertheless, that troubled year marked J. B. Daumier's first appearance in

10. *Les veilles poétiques*, preface, p. 9.

11. *Les veilles poétiques*, p. 75. "This ode, composed in 1814, was presented to His Majesty on October 13, 1818."



print. He published the poem that four years previously had received the commendations of the Marseille academy.<sup>12</sup> In the preface to this modest pamphlet the writer gives an account of himself. He tells that he has remained a stranger to the world of letters, because of his limited education, his status, and his way of living; that he followed no studies, and practiced the glazier's trade until the time of his departure from Marseille. He had been given the opportunity of reading his poems before a group of notable personages, including Commodore Sidney Smith, Marchangy, Alexandre Lenoir and Anisson-Duperron, director of the Imprimerie Royale. Through the influence of the latter the small book was printed without expense to its author.<sup>13</sup> It received a critical notice in "*Le Moniteur*"<sup>14</sup> and then passed into the limbo of collectors' rarities.<sup>15</sup> But the poet's determination was in the best Provençal tradition. Of this he gave proof by publishing a second work, this time the tragedy that had been written before his arrival at Paris. It was printed and placed on sale at two francs a copy in 1819,<sup>16</sup> and in the following year was actually given a stage performance.<sup>17</sup> The news of these minor successes echoed back at home in Marseille. The chronicler Etienne Jouy, who was traveling in the South at that time, recorded in his notes under the date April 29, 1819: "Conversation turned to M. Daumier, author of a tragedy about Phillip II which the Parisian newspapers have praised—who was born a poet in a shop just across from the church of Saint Martin, where for fifteen years he practiced the trade of glazier".<sup>18</sup>

There was to be another interval of four years before the appearance of his last and most notable volume, *Les veilles poétiques*, in which were printed his two earlier pieces, as well as a good deal of unpublished material.<sup>19</sup> There is no way of knowing how the costs for printing the book were defrayed, nor how its author solved the graver problem of surviving with his wife and young son. Nevertheless, if he did not achieve fortune through his writings, at least he

12. *Un Matin de Printemps, poème par Jean-Baptiste Daumier, De l'Imprimerie Royale,—A Paris, chez l'Auteur, Rue de l'Hirondelle, No. 24, et chez tous les Marchands de Nouveautés*, 1815. Title listed by J. M. QUÉRARD, *La France Littéraire, ou Dictionnaire bibliographique*, Paris 1828, with the note: "in—8° de 12 pages." Title page described in detail by ULRIC R.-D., in: "l'Intermédiaire des Chercheurs et Curieux", Vol. XXXV, No. 763, May, 1897, col. 674-675 (with quotations from the preface). He calls it, rightly, an octavo brochure of 27 pages. There is a woodcut vignette on the back cover.

13. *Preface*, pp. 2-6.

14. 1815, col. 1284. For this reference I am indebted to MR. JEAN ADHÉMAR, whose kindness I have acknowledged in an earlier article, "Gazette des Beaux-Arts", February 1945, pp. 105-120.

15. Copies in the Bibliothèque Nationale and print room of the Metropolitan Museum.

16. *Philippe II, tragédie en cinq actes et en vers, Impr. Fain, 1819 (20 février), chez les marchands de nouveautés*. (From MR. ADHÉMAR's notes.)

17. Article in: "la Revue Encyclopédique", Vol. V, pp. 176f, reviewing a performance of *Philippe II, Rue Chanteraine*. (Another contribution from MR. ADHÉMAR's notes). This may have been a private presentation. The book is listed as an octavo in J. M. QUÉRARD, *loc. cit.*, with the added note: "non représenté".

18. *Oeuvres complètes*, Paris, 1823, Vol. IX (*Observations sur les moeurs . . . L'ermite en province*), p. 358.

19. *Les veilles poétiques*, by J.-B. DAUMIER (De Marseille), Paris, Auguste Boulland et Cie., Marseille, chez Camoin Frères, 1823. Listed by QUÉRARD, *loc. cit.* and described by PILON, *loc. cit.* Copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale. On the back cover are listed twelve Paris bookshops and one in London where the book was sold.



English contemporary, the shoemaker Robert Bloomfield who had risen from poverty to fame with a poem, *The Farmer's Boy*.<sup>21</sup> It was in his character of glazier-poet from Marseille that he was to attain his small renown. Thus he is referred to in a travel book for young people dealing with the provinces of France, wherein he is named along with Puget, Mascaron, and Dumarsais as among those who have brought distinction to their native town of Marseille.<sup>22</sup> Again, he was mentioned in the same terms by the compilers of a dictionary

20. *Biographie des hommes vivants*, Paris, L. G. Michaud, October 1816-February 1817, Vol. II, p. 309.

21. Published in 1800, with engravings by Bewick. Twenty-six thousand copies were sold. Later it was translated into French.

22. L. N. A. and C. T., *Les jeunes voyageurs, ou lettres sur la France*, Paris, 1821, Vol. III, p. 97 (cited by GRASS-MICK, *op. cit.*, p. 48). Largely *verbatim* from *Biographie des hommes vivants*. Revised edition: *Les jeunes voyageurs en France*, etc., Paris, 1824, Vol. III, p. 243.



published in 1827.<sup>23</sup> Here it was pointed out that J.-B. Daumier had many precedents in the persons of Maître Adam, a cabinet-maker, Maître André, a wig-maker, and Maître François, shoemaker—all poets of the artisan class. In an anthology of that year he was associated with the great names of his own time, represented by a fragment of some forty lines from Phillip II, which was printed along with selections from Victor Hugo, Alfred de Vigny, Casimir Delavigne, Lamartine, Béranger, etc.<sup>24</sup> Finally, he was included in Gaston de Flotte's work on the literature of his native city.<sup>25</sup> This author mentioned, besides *Un matin de printemps* and *Philippe II*, a work entitled *Agénor*, and "several fugitive pieces". No such works however are listed in any of the bibliographies.<sup>26</sup>

Though it is not unlikely that these writers and editors had merely copied from one another in succession, still their references indicate that the novelty of an unlettered writer of verses had attracted some attention. The author himself, with a suggestion of pardonable vanity, shows that he was conscious of a small degree of recognition, in a poem dedicated to the Czar of Russia:

*Heureux si, plus docile à mon humble fortune,  
Je n'avais parcouru que la route commune  
Où disparurent mes aïeux,  
Et si le fol amour d'une gloire frivole,  
Aux magiques faveurs de cette vaine idole,  
N'eût point fixé mes vœux.*

Still there is an undercurrent of discouragement, and in the closing lines a touching note of romantic nostalgia:

*Riche de mon ignorance,  
Dans ma douce obscurité,  
Je vivrai sous l'influence  
Du beau ciel que j'ai quitté.<sup>27</sup>*

Thus wrote the dreamer who had learned bitterly that "politics had obscured the muses".<sup>28</sup> Now a cruel reality had enlightened his blissful ignorance. Living near the Place Saint Michel in an almost sunless alley that still bears the cheerfully misleading name of *Rue de l'Hirondelle*—he was far from the beautiful southern skies under whose influence he had been so "naturally" inspired

23. ANTOINE VINCENT ARNAULT, A. JAY, E. JOUY, J. NORVINS, *Biographie nouvelle des contemporains, ou dictionnaire historique et raisonné de tous les hommes*, etc., Paris, 1827, Vol. V, p. 225.

24. *Couronne des poètes vivants*, Paris, Bureau de la Bibliothèque Catholique, 1827.

25. *Essai sur la littérature à Marseille depuis le XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle jusqu'à nos jours*, Paris, 1836, p. 292.

26. QUÉRARD, *op. cit.*, and article on J. B. Daumier in: *Les Bouches-du-Rhône, encyclopédie départementale*, Vol. XI (*Biographies*, by H. BARRÉ), Marseille, 1913.

27. *Les veilles poétiques*, pp. 96f, quoted by CHAMPELEURY, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

28. *Un matin de printemps*, p. 3.



FIG. 3. — Auguste Bouquet, after Jeanron. — *Une scène de Paris*, lithograph, from "Charivari", June 3, 1833.  
Photo. M. Rigal, Paris.

to write his artless musings, those tender visions of a springtime morning cooled by the breath of a singularly classic Zephyr and illumined by Aurora herself.<sup>29</sup> These unfused admixtures of form and substance in what we may charitably call his style could not have been very disturbing to a disciple of Rousseau who had dedicated an ode to a Bourbon. Exponent of an era of upheaval that produced the tragedies of André Chenier and Baron Gros, he lived to witness still another revolution. No one has recorded in print, nor perhaps even troubled to seek for the exact date of his death.

This is about all that is known concerning the career of Jean-Baptiste Daumier. Indeed it is quite enough; and one could wish his son had been as

29. *Idem*, p. 10.



good an autobiographer. Yet in the father's brief memoir and in the rugged periods of his verse it is not difficult to find the key-note of the younger Daumier's childhood environment. One can picture his life in the densely populated quarters of Marseille and later at Paris, in a poor household whose atmosphere could not have escaped the influence of the father's aspiring mediocrity. The only child of the house, he could receive all the attention of Cécile-Catherine, of whom it is recorded merely that she had "all the passions, the facile illusions and quick discouragements" of her race, as well as those of the more "concentrated and taciturn" man of letters, who bequeathed to him at least a strong consciousness of his class and a respect for the fragments of ancient civilization.

Meanwhile, he was approaching the age at which the course of his later life must be decided. There are the anecdotes, almost standard in the biographies of artists, concerning early indications of talent discouraged by paternal opposition. Finally the parents decided to consult an expert on the problem of their son's education; and with this view they approached an eminent authority, the Chevalier Lenoir, a pioneer of French archaeology and onetime painter and critic, who was one of the worthies that the elder Daumier had met through his contacts in intellectual circles.<sup>30</sup> His favorable opinion of the son's talents decided the immediate direction of his training. But young Daumier, with definite inclinations of his own, seems to have been entirely impatient with the routine and copy work, the academic approach of the drawing schools. About this time Lenoir published a sort of students' handbook on the "true science" of the arts, which presents categorically the method of approach that he probably would have recommended to a pupil placed under his protection. Under "composition" he stated that no artist can excel "if he has not perfectly studied history, and even the poets. Anything that serves to elevate the soul, to give sharpness and nobility to one's ideas, should enter the education of a painter."<sup>31</sup> In chapter four all the passions are outlined, with the traditional standard rules for giving them expression by the proper arrangement of wrinkled brow or upturned eye. If in the course of his career Daumier depicted the whole range of human emotions contained in this list (including joy, compassion, rapture, fear, jealousy, desperation and many others) certainly he did not do so by adapting literally the precepts of Lenoir. From the beginning he seemed to require a more direct contact with undiluted reality.

However, his revolt was clearly not against the rigors of training, but merely

30. Alexandre-Marie Lenoir (1761-1839). For a detailed account of his work and influence, see LOUIS COURAJOD, *Alexandre Lenoir, son journal et le Musée des Monuments Français*, Paris, 1878/87 (with a bibliography of his works); also: DE LANZAC DE LABORIE, *Alexandre Lenoir et le Musée des Monuments Français pendant la période Napoléonienne*, in: "Revue des Questions Historiques", Vol. 93, January 1, 1913, pp. 26-52.

31. *La vraie science des artistes, ou recueil de préceptes et observations formant un corps complet de doctrine sur les arts dépendant du dessin*, Paris, 1823, Vol. I, pp. 61f.

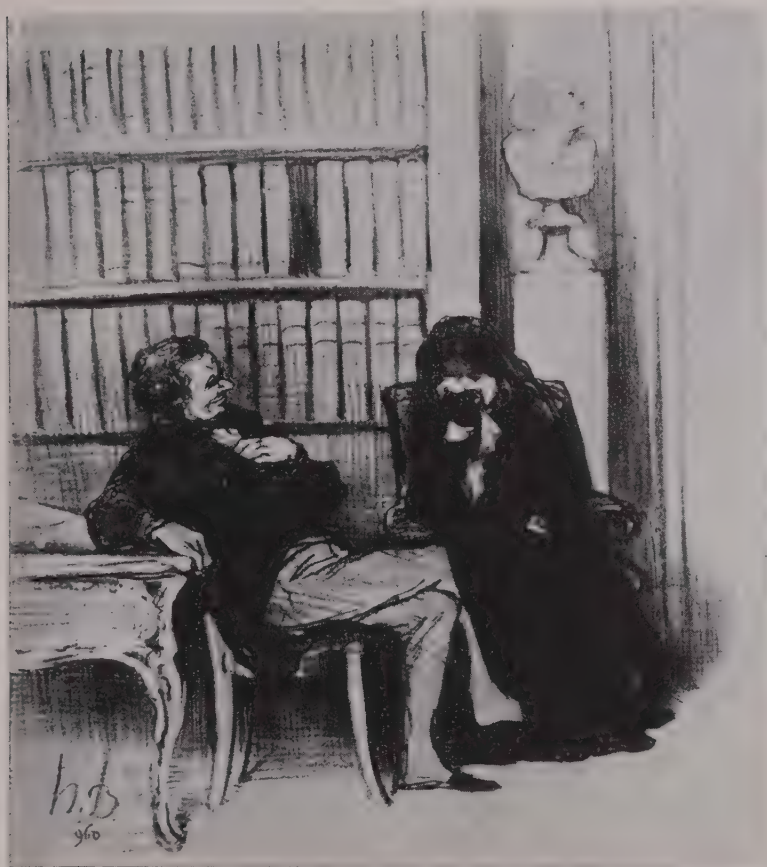


FIG. 4. — Honoré Daumier. — *La Veuve en Consultation*, lithograph, probably intended for *Les Gens de Justice*. (Rare impression at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris).  
Photo. M. Rigal, Paris.

against what to him was futile effort. He began to study at the Louvre, especially the collections of classic sculpture and of Dutch and Flemish painting. If he avoided the formalities of an official schooling in the arts, he nevertheless did not overlook the requirements of a more immediate problem — that of earning a livelihood. It must have been with this in view that he sought to become familiar with the technique of lithography, then still a popular novelty, but one that promised to become a dependable vocation for competent draughtsmen. This craft he learned from Charles Ramelet, who was his senior by

about two and a half years.

In 1802 the lithographic process had been first introduced in France by André d'Offenbach, an associate of the inventor Senefelder;<sup>32</sup> but it was hardly developed beyond an experimental stage until after the Napoleonic wars. Credit for its widespread use might be given to Comte Charles-Philibert de Lasteyrie du Saillant,<sup>33</sup> although it should be shared with Gottfried Engelmann of Mulhouse, who in 1817 set up a branch shop in Paris, only a few months after de Lasteyrie had imported his press and trained workmen. It was just at that time that, with sudden enthusiasm, serious artists began to exploit the possibilities of the new medium. In 1817 specimens from the houses of Lasteyrie and Engelmann were exhibited in the Paris Salon for the first time,<sup>34</sup> and on October 8th of that year

32. WALTER GRÄFF, *Die Einführung der Lithographie in Frankreich*, Heidelberg, 1906, pp. 14f.

33. J. LIEURE, *Notes sur les débuts de la maison de Lasteyrie — Premier atelier de lithographie artistique à Paris*, in: "l'Amateur d'Estampes", Vol. XI, No. 2, March 1932, pp. 33-39.

34. HENRI BERALDI, *Le Peintre-Graveur du XIXe siècle*, Paris 1892, Vol. XII, pp. 211, 215, Vol. IX, p. 55.



there was issued the royal decree requiring that all lithographs be deposited at the Ministry of the Interior before publication.<sup>35</sup>

Three lithographs from the press of Engelmann, deposited on August 16th, September 13th, and December 20th, 1822, deserve mention here because of their possible connection with Daumier. All of them bear the initials H. D. as the artist's signature, though not quite with the characteristic orthography that Daumier was to adopt in 1830. Loys Delteil reproduced the first two of them at the head of his catalogue, but not with the conviction that they were done by the young artist, who at that time was only fourteen years old.<sup>36</sup> Yet both have the decidedly immature look that gives them just the qualities one would expect of Daumier at that time. One must not look for stylistic traits in these prints, which, assuming them to be Daumier's, would belong to a time before he could have developed a personal style; but should rather look for suggestions of character and inclination. In the first print, *Le dimanche*, the military genre, in the manner of Charlet, bespeaks an influence that Daumier is known to have undergone, and one that is apparent in the earliest of his authenticated prints. The show-placards of the background, suggesting an interest in the street fairs of Paris, seem to foreshadow (though quite distantly) those watercolors of circus scenes that he was to produce in his late maturity. The second print, with the title *J'suis d'garde à la merrie*, points even more convincingly to the possibility of Daumier's authorship. The rustic types are such as might have appealed to him. Here appears the profile, closely resembling his own, that was to be repeated frequently in his lithographic work. *La promenade à Romainville* (Fig. 1) strikes a pastoral rather than a military note. It is temptingly pleasant to see in this scene a personal document, though in that case the presence of the young girl would be relatively unexplained. The place was a popular Sunday resort under the Restoration, famous for its refreshment houses, sack races and rabbit stew. This lithograph is obviously by the same hand, and does not seem incompatible with the suggested authorship. Some French critics now agree in ascribing the three prints to the boy Daumier. They were included in the exhibition of his graphic work held at the Bibliothèque Nationale in 1934.<sup>37</sup>

Since the publication of Delteil's catalogue two additional pages with the same initials have been discovered, and were included in the same exhibition.<sup>38</sup> They were deposited by the house of Lasteyrie about two years later than the Engelmann prints and hence they provide a reasonable transition to the earliest issues accepted by Delteil. The style of lettering in the signatures is again dif-

35. GRÄFF, *op. cit.*, pp. 97f.

36. *Honoré Daumier (le peintre-graveur illustré)*, Paris, 1925-1930, Vol. I, A and B (with mention of the third print).

37. Cat. Nos. 1-3.

38. Nos. 4 and 5 of the same catalogue; May 4 and 19, 1824.

ferent—this time with block letters. Again it is beyond doubt that the pair is by the same artist; and one at least, *Réduction du cinquième* (Fig. 2), inevitably suggests comparison with one of Daumier's earliest distinctive prints, *Un héros de Juillet*.<sup>39</sup> It has the same rugged outline in the figures, the same awkwardness in indicating the architecture, and a similar method of shading. In the manner of treating the foreground it may be compared with several examples of the early 1830's.<sup>40</sup> At the same time it is even more strikingly comparable to the three questioned lithographs of Daumier's fourteenth year. The Prime Minister Villèle is here represented, with reference to his project for reducing the five percent rate of interest on incomes, in order to secure funds for reimbursing emigrés whose property had been confiscated. The text for the companion piece, *J'ouvre . . . grands dieux, c'était un chien!*, indicates that it was intended as an illustration for a story; but the particular subject has not been identified.

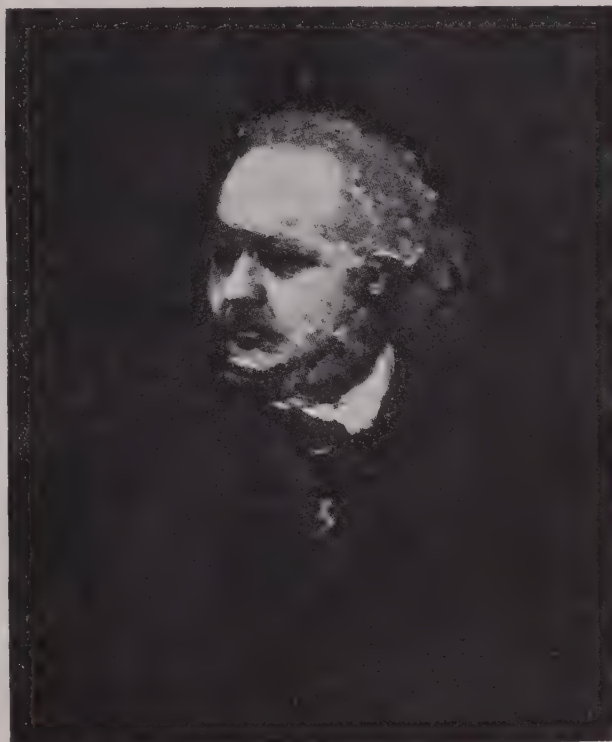


FIG. 5. — Daubigny. — Portrait of Honoré Daumier, painting. — National Gallery, Millbank, London.

According to the early biographers, Daumier's first commissions in lithography are not associated with the names of Engelmann and Lasteyrie. Duranty recorded that he was employed by Béliard.<sup>41</sup> Undoubtedly, he was referring to Zéphirin Belliard, a Marseillais who established himself in Paris as a miniature painter and portrait-lithographer. Today there exist no fully authenticated Daumier prints that can be dated before 1830, though it is more than likely that the younger Daumier was contributing to the support of his parents before that year. There is no indication that they had any other source of income, and a few years later they were entirely dependent upon him.

At the same time he was giving some attention to his artistic education. It seems that for a time he was attending an academy conducted by one Boudin "where the young people went to copy the model after nature".<sup>42</sup> Apparently

39. DELTEIL, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, No. 23; June 1, 1831.

40. DELTEIL, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, Nos. 2, 8, 12, 18, 22.

41. Daumier, in: "Beaux-Arts Illustrés", 1879, No. 5.

42. DURANTY, *loc. cit.*; ALEXANDRE, *op. cit.*, p. 24.



this person was not an artist nor a master of drawing, but, like the baker Suisse who became a celebrated model, merely conducted an atelier where for a small sum students could draw from the nude.<sup>43</sup> Daumier may also have attended the atelier of Suisse. It was very probably here or at Boudin's that he made the acquaintance of two fellow-students, Préault and Jeanron, almost his exact contemporaries from birth to death.

Antoine Augustin Préault (called Auguste) was a native of Paris. Leaving school at the age of sixteen, he worked for a sculptor of ornaments, and occupied his free hours at the academy of Suisse. It was here that he met Jeanron, who helped him to enter the atelier of the classicist David d'Angers, where he was forced to leave because his radical theories disrupted the discipline of the atelier.<sup>44</sup> For a number of years following, he was embittered by having his works refused by the Salon jury.<sup>45</sup> As a young man, Préault was active, independent, brimming with ideas, and caustically witty. His epigrams and his sharp comments on the classic school passed the round of the ateliers, and many of them found their way into print.<sup>46</sup> Lacking the means of carrying out his numerous and extravagant schemes, sometimes he contented himself with producing fragments that give an impression of the colossal. Such a work is *La tuerie*, a relief with a wild tangle of heads and half-length figures larger than life-size.<sup>47</sup> When some contemporary referred to him as "a man of genius who has no talent", he was recognizing in Préault a type belonging to a class that counted many members at that time.<sup>48</sup>

His friend Philippe-Auguste Jeanron might also have fitted into this category. Though a less colorful personality, he rivalled Préault in his zeal and activity in artistic affairs, and went beyond him in versatility, since he produced not only paintings, etchings and lithographs, but also wrote articles and made a translation of Vasari.<sup>49</sup> Like Daumier and Préault, Jeanron was in sympathy with the popular movement in politics. He fought in the revolution of 1830, and under the succeeding regime headed a group of dissenting artists that published in 1830 an emphatic petition to the deputies demanding more favorable

43. ERNEST CHESNEAU, *Peintres et statuaires romantiques*, Paris, 1880 pp. 119, 294f. (on Suisse); also: L. DIMIER, *Histoire de la peinture française au XIXe siècle*, Paris, 1914, p. 140. In the late 1830's Millet and his friend Marolle spent their evenings working chez Boudin or chez Suisse. (ETIENNE MOREAU-NÉLATON, *Millet raconté par lui-même*, Paris, 1921, Vol. I, p. 32.)

44. ERNEST CHESNEAU, *Auguste Préault*, in: "l'Art", Vol. XVII, 1879 (II), p. 4. See also: *Peintres et statuaires*, pp. 119ff.

45. STANISLAS LAMI, *Dictionnaire des sculpteurs de l'école Française au dix-neuvième-siècle*, Paris, 1914-21, Vol. IV, p. 113.

46. PHILIBERT AUDEBRAND, *Scenes de la vie d'artiste - Auguste Préault*, in: "l'Art", Vol. XXXI, 1882 (IV), pp. 261-266. See also: JEAN GIGOUX, *Causeries sur les artistes de mon temps*, Paris, 1885, p. 173.

47. LUC-BENOIST, *La sculpture romantique*, Paris, n.d., pp. 65ff, reproduced opp. p. 48. An excellent biographical and critical review. See also catalogue, pp. 175f, and bibliography, p. 182.

48. LAMI, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 114.

49. E. BÉNÉZIT, *Dictionnaire des peintres*, etc.

conditions for their profession;<sup>50</sup> also he became editor of "*La Liberté*", "*Journal des Arts*", which attacked the Institute and the Ecole des Beaux-Arts.<sup>51</sup> *Une Scène de Paris*, published as a lithograph in 1833 (Fig. 3), illustrates his tender romantic genre, similar to what Daumier produced in some of his early prints and repeated at later intervals.

Daumier's friendship with these two men was permanent and close; his association with them, as with the publisher Charles Philipon and others, is significant in his career as a satirist and revolutionary.

When Daumier was arrested, as announced in "*La Caricature*" "before the eyes of his father and mother, of whom he is the *solé support*", he sent an appeal not to his father but to the wife of his sponsor. The note, a poignant and vivid document that has remained unpublished, was scribbled even more hurriedly and illegibly than was his custom with crossings-out, as he changed the wording, and without capitals, punctuation and accent marks: "Madame. I have just been arrested I beg you please to let M<sup>r</sup> philippon know I recommend myself urgently to his kindness For I am in the most painful position I am at the depot of the prefecture". Then, below the signature, he added: "if you could [misspelled] deliver [misspelled] 5 fr. to person who delivers this you will oblige me very much".<sup>52</sup> The next day he was taken to the prison of Sainte Pélagie, where an official noted his arrival in the jail-book as follows: "Entered on August 31, 1832, accompanied by Sieur Poupeloz, bailiff, bearer of an order issued by the *Procureur-Général* on the date of February 22, 1832. Son of J.-B. Daumier and of Cécile Philip, living in Paris at No. 12 Quai de la Grève."<sup>53</sup> Artist-painter, age 21 years, height 1.71 meters, turned-up nose, medium mouth, distinguishing mark — scar at the top of the



FIG. 6. — Carjat. — Portrait of Honoré Daumier, photograph.

50. LÉON ROSENTHAL, *Du romantisme au réalisme*, Paris, 1914, p. 5, note 2, and p. 30.

51. This was the organ of a group that included Daumier, Préault, Cabat, Céléstin Nanteuil, Gigoux, Bois-sard and others. (Alfred Sensier, *Souvenirs sur Th. Rousseau*, Paris, 1872, pp. 44f.

52. This note was presented in 1931 by M. Paul Philipon to the Musée Carnavalet, Paris (E 18. 749.n31).  
53. Now Quai de l'Hôtel de Ville.



forehead beginning above the hair. Guilty of offense against the King for distribution, sale and exhibition in a public place of a lithograph entitled *Gargantua*. Sentence of the court of assize, February 22, 1832: six months imprisonment and a fine of 500 francs.<sup>54</sup> Mr. Jean Adhémar, curator at the Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, unearthed this interesting description, and noted that the forehead scar appears clearly in Feuchère's lithographic portrait.

Such were the beginnings out of which young Daumier grew into manhood. Like his father he was self-educated and always remained, to some extent, a part of his proletarian environment. In comparison with his father he was unassuming: he never sought to rise through seeking favors from the "right" people; and he left no account of himself. "In truth", wrote Champfleury, "it must be said that Daumier's life was entirely private, that he will leave no travel diary, and that he is not of the pretentious kind that explains their conception, analyzing it, spreading it in the newspapers and making of it a profession of faith."<sup>55</sup>

A few years ago a scrapbook compiled by Ernest Maindron turned up in the Cabinet des Estampes of the Bibliothèque Nationale, containing letters, clippings and other material relating to Daumier's exhibition of 1878, plus articles printed after he died the next year.<sup>56</sup> In the following decade Arsène Alexandre drew heavily on the newspaper items for his book on Daumier and listed them in the bibliography. The scrapbook however provides here and there a comment lost in obscure publications, which adds a little to our acquaintance of the man.

Daumier's home was severely plain, without the romantic bric-a-brac popularly associated with artists' studios of that time.<sup>57</sup> The working room with its soft gray walls entirely undecorated (except for an unframed lithograph of Préault's *Les parias*) contained, besides a stove and few chairs, the artist's small table with a simple set of materials. On the floor against the wall were some portfolios overflowing with drawings.<sup>58</sup> Far below one could see from a window the river and the quais of the Ile Saint Louis, lined with large trees in this unfrequented part of the town. Daumier had taken these quarters at the time of his marriage in 1846 and here, not far from the Hôtel de Pimodan where he frequently met with friends, he passed nearly fifteen years of peaceful, uneventful existence. His wife, who was fourteen years younger than he, had been a seamstress and (by coincidence no doubt) was the daughter of a glazier. By this time Daumier *père* had died but the widow Daumier attended the marriage at

54. *Archives Seine D<sup>17</sup>. Régistre d'ecrou Sainte Pélagie*. Daumier was not 21 but almost 24 years old. A later entry in the same book notes that on November 11, 1832, he was conducted to the sanitarium of Dr. Pinel at Charenton. (This institution was entirely for the treatment of mental cases!)

55. CHAMPFLEURY, *Histoire de la caricature moderne*, Paris, [1865], p. 172.

56. Yb<sup>8</sup> 1525.

57. CHAMPFLEURY, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

58. THÉODORE DE BANVILLE, *Mes souvenirs*, Paris, 1883, pp. 173f.

the *mairie* of the ninth *arrondissement*.<sup>59</sup>

Much of Daumier's sturdy character, reflected in all his work, can also be read in his large, frank, features. Feuchère's lithographic portrait attributes to him a still youthful and rather poetic expression in his thirty-ninth year. The description of a columnist, written about five years later, emphasized those traits which impressed most forcibly all who have left a record of personal reminiscence.<sup>60</sup> On first meeting, one noticed at once that he was himself "a true Daumier" — that he shared with Delacroix and others the habit of projecting his own nature into his work.<sup>61</sup> ". . . but if one does not stop at this first impression, if one tries to penetrate this *bourgeois* shell, the features soon brighten into life. That little eye with its heavy lid, half closed in a perpetual winking, thrusts at you its clear sharp regard with its singular depth; the joking mouth can laugh and bite; even his nose seems to enjoy the observations he has just made. To all this is added an expression of good-natured simplicity, the superior geniality of the true artist without ambition who is conscious of his own strength, and asks only to live, enjoy leisure, look about him, smoke, and create." Champfleury, too, referred to his fondness for smoking and suggested that he might have inherited from the elder Daumier a taste for quiet meditation.<sup>62</sup>

Yet in spite of this quality he was not averse to convivial gatherings. Baudelaire, in deploring the lack of personality and intelligent intercourse among living artists, included Daumier among the exceptions, along with Préault, Delacroix and Chenavard. "Daumier is gifted with a radiant good sense that colors all his conversation."<sup>63</sup> The composer Alfred Quidant remembered how he often enlivened a discussion with his amusing remarks.<sup>64</sup> But above all, among the numerous testimonies, the word *bonhomie* is most frequently repeated, *bonhomie* and next perhaps *insouciance*. In all the appreciations and eulogies that appeared later, the writers emphasized most his simple friendliness and complete freedom from considerations of self-interest. Gavarni admired him as "the great artist — the most indifferent to the success of his work that I have ever

59. RAYMOND ESCHOLIER, *Daumier peintre et lithographe (La vie et les arts romantiques)* Paris, 1923, p. 56.

60. DENIS DUPUY, *Profilis artistiques. Les caricaturistes. M. Daumier*, in: "La Presse Théâtrale", April 15, 1855.

61. Compare: CHAMPFLEURY, *op. cit.*, p. 175: "The man's exterior . . . in nearly every page of his work;" Also: JEAN GIGOUX, *Causeries sur les artistes de mon temps*, Paris, 1885, p. 55: "He was always representing himself, no doubt unconsciously. It was always his nose . . . and his little glittering, penetrating eyes"; THÉODORE DE BANVILLE, *Les grands chroniqueurs*, in: "Gil Blas", December 19, 1879: "At first sight Daumier seemed to resemble the bourgeois he painted, but how intelligent and witty was that turned-up nose . . ."; and by the same author (*Mes souvenirs*, Paris, 1883, p. 165): "I admired his visage sparkling with force and goodness, the little piercing eyes, the nose turned up like a wind-burst of ideality, the sharp mouth, gracious, fulsome, and finally that handsome artist's head, so like those of the bourgeois he painted, but tempered in the living flames of the spirit."

62. *Op. cit.*, p. 175. Compare: JULES CLARETIE, *Peintres et sculpteurs contemporains*, Paris, 1882, p. 316: "Smoking his pipe, with a distant look, lost in a meditative *farniente* . . ."

63. *Curiosités esthétiques*, Paris, n.d., p. 250.

64. JEAN BERNARD, *La vie de Paris—1829*, Paris, 1931, p. 476.



encountered."<sup>65</sup> And yet "he knew very well what he was worth," said one of his "*Charivari*" colleagues, "a great proudness was hidden beneath his timid, resigned manner."<sup>66</sup> The outward effect of this modest self-sufficiency is brought out vividly by the account of another staff member: "One day in the small editorial room on Rue du Croissant there entered an easy-going, rather thick-set man with the heavy, dragging gait of a peasant, smoking a well-colored pipe and carrying a roll of paper. He sat down without saying a word . . . waited his turn to see the editor . . . then went in. When I asked Henri Rochefort who was this big, taciturn *bonhomme*, he said that it was one of the greatest draughtsmen of the century — Daumier; to which I replied that one might take him for a retired shoemaker."<sup>67</sup>

From among the many anecdotes that for the most part reveal very little concerning him, one or two might be sifted out as illustrating his essential character. In his only recorded commentary on a work of art he expressed more interest in its spirit or message than in its style. Stopping to look at Ribera's club-foot boy in the Louvre, he discussed the object-lesson in the broad grin on the face of the miserably ragged and crippled child.<sup>68</sup> On another occasion, while walking through a poverty-stricken alley in Montmartre, he pressed the arm of his companion and whispered in a voice filled with emotion: "We can console ourselves with our art; but these unfortunate creatures — what have they?"<sup>69</sup> Such phrases boldly repeated and coming to us already paraphrased, have a tone of artificial sentimentality, especially when they fall on modern ears; but there can be no doubt as to their genuine and deep-rooted sincerity. Daumier's humane sentiment and warm sympathy with the people is an essential ingredient in all his work.<sup>70</sup> It has a quality peculiar to the XIX Century point of view, and is linked with some of its manifest movements. It accounts for the passionate vigor and conviction of his artistic expression, which no artist of our generation can be expected to recapture. In common with a few rare individuals, in contrast to scores of less sincere or integrated personalities of his time, he was able to endow his sentiment with a sound dignity; and on occasion to combine it with a militant force. "His talent is made of indignation and of pity."<sup>71</sup> Such an integrity of spirit represented the best in an era of substantial materialism

65. *Journal des Goncourts*, Paris, 1891, Vol. I, p. 158, (entry of 1856). "Often have I heard Gavarni praise the surprising execution of Daumier." (LOUIS LEROY, *Exposition des œuvres de Daumier*, in: "*Charivari*", May 1, 1878).

66. ALBERT WOLFF, *Courrier de Paris* in: "*Figaro*", February 13, 1879.

67. Anonymous undated clipping (of 1878, from the context) in the Maindron scrapbook. Recording the verbal account of Ernest Blum.

68. ALEXANDRE, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

69. Anonymous article in: "*Le Rappel*", April 17, 1880, quoting funeral address by Carjat.

70. THÉODORE DE BANVILLE, *La comédie moderne. Honoré Daumier*, in: "*Le National*", February 15, 1878. "*Il était peuple et il aimait le peuple au plus profond de ses entrailles.*"

71. PAUL FOUCHER, *Exposition de Daumier* in: "*Le National*", April 19, 1878.

and extravagant adventure.

There is a good deal of evidence to aid us in forming a clear idea of his studio practice. For his lithographs he drew directly upon the stone without making preliminary sketches, and never used the lithographer's guide-strings employed by some draughtsmen at that time.<sup>72</sup> Théodore de Banville, who watched him at work, tells how he "always drew with the remains of old crayons, finally deciding to melt them together when he couldn't do otherwise, but more often utilizing, in spite of everything, the ends of crayons that could not even be cut, so that it was sometimes necessary to invent an angle that lent itself to the feverish caprice of his ready hand."<sup>73</sup> His direct manner of working was further explained by Duranty: "... He would draw only when the idea, the subject and the attitude were all well fixed in his head, and he never had to rework his drawing. This precaution ... makes the work less fatiguing. Nevertheless, Daumier admits it himself, 'when he had executed a good batch of stones, he needed some rest'.<sup>74</sup> It was said that he

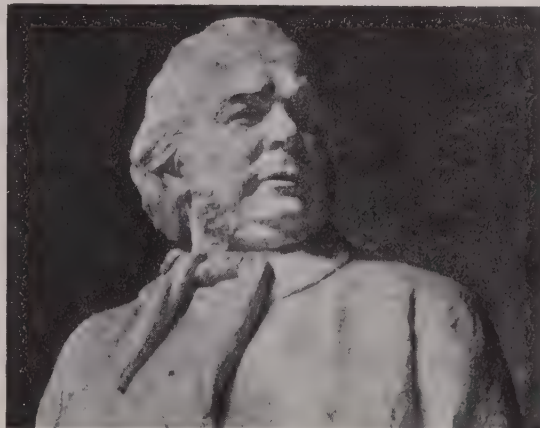


FIG. 7. — Geoffroy-Dechaume: An Unpublished Portrait Bust of Daumier. (Courtesy of M. C. Geoffroy-Dechaume, son of the sculptor).

was accustomed to completing eight lithographs in a night,<sup>75</sup> but this hearsay may be somewhat exaggerated. "Generally he made them only during the evening," according to Louis Leroy of the "*Charivari*" staff. "The daytime was devoted to painting."<sup>76</sup> On an average his commissions amounted to eight stones a month. It seems likely that often because of his preference for painting, "he sat down with regret before the lithographic stone," as Champfleury relates, and that "at the last moment he had to harness himself to his month's work, which usually he accomplished by lamplight."<sup>77</sup> In one of his letters to Madame Daumier, he assures her that all goes well, and explains having missed a day in his correspondence: "Instead of delivering my stones on Monday as I hoped, I was not able to finish until Tuesday. You know that's always a day of rush for me, that I never finish before three or four o'clock, and that the hour of the post having passed, I

72. LOUIS LEROY, *Honoré Daumier*, in: "*Charivari*", February 18, 1879.

73. *Mes souvenirs*, Paris, 1883, p. 174.

74. *Daumier*, in: "*Gazette des Beaux Arts*", 2d per., Vol. XVII, 1878, p. 430.

75. CHAMPFLEURY, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

76. *Loc. cit.*

77. *Loc. cit.*; When Carjat went to call on him, he advised the young artist not to take up caricature. "For thirty years now I have expected to stop. When will I ever be able to paint!" (EDMOND BAZIRE, *Les obsèques de Daumier*, in: "*Le Rappel*", February 15, 1879.)



had to put off my letter to the next day."<sup>78</sup>

When the stones were received by the printer, proofs without lettering were made and sent to the editorial office so that appropriate captions could be written for them, and a sample copy submitted to the censorship bureau. In the Bibliothèque Nationale there is an album containing proofs with manuscript notes, of lithographs dating from the early 1840's. It provides much information about the customary procedure. Apparently the proofs were first inspected by Daumier, for occasionally, when it seemed necessary, he wrote a brief note explaining the situation represented in his drawing, or even made a suggestion for the wording of the text. In a few rare cases, as in *Un premier essai de pipage*,<sup>79</sup> his suggestion was retained intact, but more frequently the writing of the text was done by someone in the newspaper office, or the job assigned to a hack-writer, who was paid a fixed sum for each legend. Albert Wolff recalled that he received five francs apiece.<sup>80</sup> No doubt the more terse captions of the later lithographs were provided by the artist himself.<sup>81</sup> That much attention was given to these texts is shown by the controversy, scattered through the literature on Daumier (almost down to the present time) as to their authorship. Unlike Gavarni, whose talent was less strictly graphic and whose writing complements his drawings, Daumier seems to have "cared very little about the legends, which Louis Huart and others placed beneath his drawings. He claimed that a caricature should be able to express its own idea and dispense with an explanatory text."<sup>82</sup> Duranty heard him say that "one does not draw a word; one draws a gesture, an expression."<sup>83</sup> But not all of his contemporaries realized, as did Théodore de Banville, that "his drawings, essentially plastic, never have need of legends."<sup>84</sup> The contemptuous attitude of some of the men in the editorial office is expressed in a note written on one of the proof sheets: "I am writing to Daumier to send you the idea of this one, in so far as it may have any idea."<sup>85</sup> Ernest Blum described the situation a little more sympathetically: "Daumier, artist that he was, made drawings of anything or anybody. He would see in the streets an amusing head that pleased him, and he would put it on the lithographic stone. It was up to Huart to find out the meaning of this head. Our editor-in-chief, a resourceful and clever man, often did find out; but sometimes he was greatly

78. ESCHOLIER, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

79. DELTEIL, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, No. 1093; "Charivari", February 14, 1844.

80. *Courrier de Paris*, in: "Figaro", February 13, 1879.

81. For a full discussion see: JEAN ADHÉMAR, *Les légendes de Daumier*, in: "l'Amateur d'Estampes", Vol. XIII, March 1934, pp. 54-58.

82. LOUIS LEROY, *loc. cit.*; the author takes exception to this attitude.

83. *Daumier*, in: "Gazette des Beaux-Arts", 2d per., Vol. XVII, 1878 (II), p. 534. "He also complained that the text violated the intention of his drawing."

84. *La comédie moderne*, in: "Le National", February 17, 1878.

85. *Daumier* (exhibition catalogue), Bibliothèque Nationale, No. 83 (*Le mendiant à domicile*: DELTEIL, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, No. 827).

perplexed and spent weeks studying a sketch without being able to guess what it had in it."<sup>86</sup> This perplexity may possibly explain why a number of Daumier's lithographic drawings, too innocuous to have disturbed the censor, are known only through unique, or at most two or three impressions, having remained unpublished during his lifetime. One of these, now called *La veuve en consultation* and possibly intended for the *Gens de Justice* series (Fig. 4), missed being included in Delteil's catalogue.<sup>87</sup> Sometimes the censor did raise objections (one of the proofs is marked "not authorized"), in which case the author of the text would amend the wording slightly, or would rewrite it completely, occasionally even reinterpreting entirely the content of the drawing.<sup>88</sup>

During the summer of 1878 at Valmondois where Daumier, all but blind,<sup>89</sup> had retired to his country home, a gift from Corot,<sup>90</sup> he enjoyed the company of a young man from Beziers who was spending some time in the village. "He liked to turn his thoughts to the places once inhabited by his grandfather, whose memory he venerated" — though he had never seen the town. Once conversation centered about Beziers, and the poems of Horace, when Daumier mentioned a certain Vagnière. The visitor thought he meant a local Provencal poet, "the French Virgil," until Daumier spoke of him as German. When questioned he replied, "That's possible — I am so ignorant. Still it seems to me that this Vagnière did not belong to David's generation. I am wrong — that's evident. I didn't even know he wrote verses. I know only his . . ." Then he identified him by humming the opening measures of the pilgrims' chorus from *Lohengrin*. "Thereupon Daumier, reviving a forgotten rhythm, assumed the comic grimacing mask that he had given to his own splendid creations. Several months later the thought of his mistake made him laugh until tears came from his eyes." Late one evening, when Daumier was being led home by the young man, a swallow from a nest fell at his feet. He left it in the care of his friend over night, and next morning was up at sunrise to inquire after it.<sup>91</sup>

86. See above, note 67.

87. Bibliothèque Nationale exhibition catalogue (No. 142, repr. opp. p. 30). Another impression is owned by Mr. Lessing Rosenwald, Jenkintown, Pa.

88. *Idem*, Nos. 71, 82, 87, 88, 102-104.

89. One must draw a conclusion from the following: "To-day cruelly afflicted in the organs of sight." (Anonymous note in: "Petit Journal", January 12, 1878). ". . . Daumier, almost blind, can work only rarely and with difficulty." ("L'Événement", January 16, 1878). "His eyes have been dead a long time." (CH. LAURANT, in: "La France", February 12, 1879). "Since several months completely blind." ("Petit Journal", February 13, 1879). ". . . His imagination as alert . . . but material production becomes more slow and laborious each day." (JEAN BÉRARD, *Chronique Parisienne*, in: *La Marseillaise*, same date—a belated dispatch, for Daumier was dead). "For the past two years . . . his sight was so feeble that he would have lost it had he not ceased to work." ("L'Illustration", February 22, 1879).

90. Léon Rosenthal pointed out that the accounts of Corot's gift, as rendered by Alexandre, Claretie, and Moreau-Nélaton, are fundamentally in accord but differ considerably as to the circumstances. (*Notes sur Daumier*, in: "Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français", 1911, p. 353). Corot's oft-quoted letter may therefore be imaginary, like the "document" that purports to be his own description of himself at work.

91. VICTOR DE THAURIÈS, *Honoré Daumier. Les antiquaires*, in: "l'Artiste", Vol. 52, 1892 (I), pp. 82, 87.



So Daumier, the city-dweller, had a finely developed sense of kinship with the things of nature, very likely far more naturally inspired than the studied musings of his father, and certainly free from all literary efflorescence.

One might well prefer to think of these small occupations of his last years rather than dwell upon the disorder and gathering dust in his workroom, which one observer interpreted as signs of dire poverty.<sup>92</sup> During the last two or three years he received a pension of 2400 francs from the government. From time to time a watercolor or a drawing was sold through the intermediary of a friend.<sup>93</sup> Perhaps he had no more than "scarcely enough to live on"; but there is no reason to believe that he was entirely deprived of contentment, nor reason for accepting too literally the assertion that "his life ended in bitterness."<sup>94</sup> He had the loyalty of his wife, the companionship of friends, and he lived to have the satisfaction of seeing the establishment of the Republic, to which his own labors had made a large contribution. "He was, like Molière, a combination of sage, redresser of wrongs, and hero," wrote Philibert Audebrand. "In his simple manner and placid, smiling face I could see the essential traits of a republican of the heroic school of 1830 . . . content with little, taking refuge in patience and repeating to himself: 'Democratic truth will come to light in due course; let us learn to wait.' " It seems reasonable to believe that he died with this conviction. Audebrand declared that his final retirement was spent with no wish unfulfilled, and as evidence he offered Daumier's own words: "What do I need? Two fried eggs in the morning, and in the evening a herring or a cutlet. Add to that a glass of Beaujolais, then some tobacco to stuff into my pipe—and anything more would merely be extra."<sup>95</sup>

BERNARD LEMANN.



92. EDMOND BAZIRE, *Les Obsèques de Daumier*, in: "Le Rappel", February 15, 1879.

93. Anonymous notes in: "Paris Journal", Februar 13, 1879; "Le Monde Illustré" and "L'Illustration", February 22, 1879.

94. CAMILLE PELLETAN, *Daumier*, in: "Le Rappel", February 14, 1879.

95. *Lauriers et Cyprès*, Paris [1903], pp. 49-51. For this reference I am indebted to Professor OLIVER LARKIN.

## B I B L I O G R A P H Y

*Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, U. S. A., Fasc. 10.—H. R. W. SMITH, *San Francisco Collections*, Fasc. 1: *M. H. de Young Memorial Museum and California Palace of the Legion of Honor*.—Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1943. 10 x 13.

The *Corpus vasorum antiquorum*, which was initiated in France in 1922 by Edmond Pottier as an international undertaking, and has as its aim the publication of all extant ancient pottery, has proved a most useful undertaking. Year after year large and small collections all over Europe and America have been published in separate fascicules and thus made known to students of the subject. The study of ancient vase painting has been greatly facilitated by the increased accessibility of the scattered material.

The present fascicule by PROFESSOR H. R. W. SMITH on pottery in two collections in San Francisco—in the M. H. de Young Memorial Museum and the California Palace of the Legion of Honor—is one of the best in the whole series. The illustrations present the vases in a clear and adequate manner, with all-over views of the shapes and with many close-ups of the scenes, and the text is accurate and stimulating. The reader gains a knowledge not only of the particular vases in two specific collections, but of the intricacy and diverse interest of the whole subject. Though the two collections are relatively small, they contain a varied assortment of vases, ranging from Mycenaean, Geometric and Cypriote, to Corinthian, Etruscan and Attic, and they include several excellent examples. The majority of the vases presented are Attic, black-figured and red-figured, that is, the decoration is in black glaze on a red terracotta background or in red terracotta against a black-glaze background. These two techniques represent the high-water mark of Greek pottery and vase painting, both in quality and interest. The shapes—designed not in continuous curves but with the various parts set off from one another and harmoniously interrelated—illustrate the Greek sense of form, and the decorations are our chief source of knowledge of Greek painting during the "classical" period, for the Greek murals and panels of that time have practically all disappeared.

The general appeal and importance of Greek vase painting has long been recognized. During the last generation, however, the subject has been given edge and precision by detailed stylistic studies. Archaeologists have been able to classify Greek vases chronologically and to attribute them to specific artists by using the same criteria of comparison as do the students of Renaissance paintings. Professor J. D. Beazley of Oxford in his latest great book has been able to distinguish about five hundred different painters of Attic red-figure, active from about 530 to 380 B.C. Professor Smith has in the past made many an important contribution in this field and he has now increased our indebtedness by his

text of the present fascicule. We may cite a few examples of the matters he has discussed.

One of the finest examples in the De Young Museum is a black-figured amphora with Dionysos, Satyrs, and Maenads on one side, and the quarrel of Ajax and Odysseus on the other. The style places it in the last decade of the VI Century, in the so-called Leagros group, and specifically with the work of the Antiope Painter—the artist who painted the scene of Theseus carrying off the Amazon queen Antiope on an amphora in Naples. In the detailed description and analysis of this vase (pp. 27 ff.) Mr. Smith has called attention to many renderings characteristic of the painter and has listed several other vases which are more or less closely connected in style. Our knowledge of this able artist is considerably enlarged both by this discussion and by the many views of the scenes.

Another intricate stylistic problem broached by Mr. Smith is the attribution of a representation of Apollo, Leto, and Artemis on a red-figured pelike in the California Palace of the Legion of Honor (p. 40 f.). The scene is obviously in the general style of the Niobid Painter (called after the representation of the Death of the Niobids on the famous vase in the Louvre). But is it by the painter himself or by a follower? Beazley once attributed it to the Niobid Painter, but more recently he has listed it among the works "in his manner," and has associated it with a calyx krater in New York with Kadmos and the dragon. Mr. Smith accepts these findings and enlarges on them by definitely attributing both works to the same artist and proposing to name him the Spreckles Painter, after the donor of the San Francisco vase—Mrs. Alma de Bretteville Spreckles Awl. The San Francisco scene may also profitably be compared, I think, with that of Triptolemos, Demeter, and Persephone, on a hydria in New York, which Mr. Beazley has definitely assigned to the Niobid Painter. The compositions and, in general, the renderings are remarkably similar, except that in the San Francisco example the line is coarser (as is, however, the case also in some works attributed to the Niobid Painter, for instance, the scenes on the amphora GR 579 in New York). If the San Francisco paintings are not a minor work of the Niobid Painter but are by a "Spreckles Painter," the latter must occasionally have very closely approximated the work of his master.

A special type of wine jug with bulbous body, trefoil mouth, and low foot—named *chous*—was used during the Attic festival of the Choes, when wine was drunk in competition. Diminutive examples of such jugs (*choidia*) decorated with childhood scenes have been found in children's graves, and have been identified as presents given to children at the festival of the Anthesteria, for use on the day of the Choes. A favorite scene is a child crawling on all fours toward a jug of this shape



placed on the ground. In describing several specimens of this type in San Francisco (pp. 47 ff.) MR. SMITH poses the question whether this widely accepted theory is correct; for children did not participate in this festival until after their second birthday and a two-year old normally can walk and would not be represented crawling. He makes an ingenious suggestion that "just as most of our *loutrophoroi*, in spite of their apparently nuptial form and decoration, were never employed at a marriage, so most of the extant *choidia*—extant, because preserved in graves—were never Anthesteria presents. The miniature chous, as funerary vase, was especially for the child who died in babyhood and never lived to receive the *Choika* of his first Anthesteria . . . , compensation exactly analogous to the various nuptial vessels in the graves of marriageable maidens."

A handsome chalice (pl. III, 4) is identified as Etruscan and the pedigree of the shape is traced back through early *bucchero* and *impasto* examples (p. 22). A further interesting comparison may perhaps be made with the Lydian chalices from Sardis in New York, which in shape and technique are closely connected with the Etruscan *bucchero* examples. In view of the supposed Lydian origin of the Etruscans this resemblance may be significant.

We have been able to call attention to only a few of the many absorbing problems discussed in this fascicule. Fortunately an index makes the scattered information easy of access. In conclusion we may say that not the least pleasant aspect of this fine book is the courtesy which MR. SMITH invariably shows to his colleagues—giving generous credit where credit is due and minimizing mistakes and disagreements.

GISELA M. A. RICHTER

MAURICE E. CHERNOWITZ, *Proust and Painting*. New York, International University Press, 1945, x + 261, pp. Price \$3.75.

Although the amount of literature on Marcel Proust is enormous, this is the first study discussing with fullness the problems of Proust's relationship to painting; in fact, the first of its range to investigate the rôle of the representational arts in a work of fiction. François Fosca and, more recently, Mary W. Scott have inquired into Balzac's connection with art, but these studies were brief. Ruskin's influence on Proust has also received some attention. On the whole, however, it was rather the rôle music played in the work of Proust which has preoccupied the critics. One writer questioned the fact that Proust even had a natural taste for art.

Proust's reading included Diderot, Eugène Fromentin, Zola, the friend of the impressionists, the brothers Goncourt, Maurice Denis's writings on symbolic painting, Mâle, and above all, Ruskin whose *Bible of Amiens* and *Sesame and Lilies* Proust translated into French. Proust was close to the painter J. -E. Blanche and wrote a preface to his volume *De David à Degas*. In his one and only novel *A la Recherche du Temps Perdu* the first volume of which appeared in 1913 when Proust was forty-two, and the last six of which were brought out posthumously (Proust died in 1922)—Proust's art experience reveals itself in subject matter and vocabu-

lary, as well as in method of presentation. Swann, one of the chief characters of the novel, is an aesthete and art writer. Chernowitz interprets him as a composite portrait, one of whose models was Charles Ephrussi, director of the "Gazette des Beaux-Arts" in Proust's time. Proust was a contributor to the "Gazette." Another character, Elstir, is a painter whom some recognize as Whistler. Chernowitz identifies him with Claude Monet, admitting that some traits may have been inspired by others. Proust's imagery is enriched with what our author calls "pictorial quotations." Odette looks like "a Botticelli," another less romantic figure, like a certain Hogarth. Paintings by Ghirlandaio, Gentile Bellini, El Greco, Winterhalter, to cite only a few, have furnished visual parallels to various characters. Proust visualized the heroes of his imagination with extraordinary lucidity and in pointing out their facial resemblances to well known figures of art—well known at least to the élite he was addressing—he wished his readers to see them with the same dreamlike acuteness. In fact, the pictorial comparisons frequently were meant to replace verbal descriptions.

Chernowitz raises the question whether the use of analogy "does not hold the innermost key to Proust's art." "These comparisons," he goes on to say, "have nothing merely decorative . . . , nor are they an external artifice of symbolism." Having thus somewhat disparaged symbolism, as an "external" device of presentation, the author is at pains to explain just what the use of metaphors, admittedly a substantial characteristic of Proust's vocabulary, means in terms of style. In another context we learn that Proust was strongly influenced by impressionistic painting. Pleinairism, pointillism, the predominance of scenes in the garden, at the seashore, in a rowboat, the emphasis on occupations of leisure, picnics, yachting, the vogue of bric-à-brac, the cult of Japanese prints which contributed to the revolutionising of the concept of space and the treatment of subject matter, were features equally marked in Proust's novel. It is to the credit of Dr. Chernowitz that he pointed out these subtle affinities. However if it is true that the presentation of fleeting, fragmentary impressions forms the common ground where Marcel Proust and Claude Monet meet, it is hard to see where Proust's device of "pictorial quotation" comes into the picture. It would seem that to comprehend this aspect of Proust's style, it would be necessary to refer to what we now call magic realism. Although perfectly aware of the ambivalence of Proust's style in which mutually exclusive trends converge, Chernowitz has perhaps overemphasized the impact of impressionism on Proust which, after all, he knew best during its 1890-1900 phase when it had lost some of its original character. In Proust's phraseology and syntax, too, the direct literary prototypes—Baudelaire, Verlaine, Mallarmé—were no doubt a much more decisive factor than the stimulus he found in painting. The long paragraphs and the slow and involved periods typical of Proust's prose, indicate a classical taste rather than pointillism.

This thought-provoking study includes a most instructive survey of the painter as a character in French fiction from the Romantic period down to the time of



Proust. The book will be of particular interest to the American reader who will find in Proust's background many an element similar to the familiar ones from "aesthetic Boston," so ably brought out by Van Wyck Brooks.

The volume is supplied with an exhaustive bibliography and a most serviceable index.

RACHEL WISCHNITZER-BERNSTEIN

*Miniatures Byzantines de la Bibliothèque Nationale, 66 photographies inédites*, Introduction by ANDRÉ GRABAR.—Paris, Les Editions d'Art et d'Histoire, 1939.

In connection with the projected VI International Congress of Byzantine Studies in Paris in 1939, there was also planned an exhibition by Byzantine miniatures at the Bibliothèque Nationale. The war prevented both the congress and the exhibition from being held. However, the photographs for illustrating a catalogue having already been made, PROF. GRABAR succeeded in having them published *en pleine guerre* in this fascinating volume. The catalogue was never completed but a commentary, it is hoped, may one day be published to accompany this volume of plates.

The introduction states that there was no attempt to bring together reproductions of the most beautiful or most remarkable or best known miniatures in the Bibliothèque Nationale. The purpose was to demonstrate what could be done with Byzantine miniatures by using a certain photographic technique. The plates consist of a series of photographs, a few in natural size but most of them enlarged to several times the natural size, very much as though viewed through a glass. As PROF. GRABAR says, most of the miniatures gain by being photographed in enlarged size, the exceptions being chiefly miniatures of the XI-XII Century of a type intended to be looked at with a single glance, and of a decorative nature rather than as illustrations to the text. The enlargements add nothing to the paintings but merely help us to see the miniatures in photographs as one would study them with the aid of a magnifying glass.

The miniatures prove to have been done with great mastery, very often the work of real artists. Plates 2-7 give enlargements of the VI Century Fragment of the Gospel of St. Matthew. The variety of expressions and types contained on this one page is truly remarkable—from the two figures disputing, to Salome who receives the decapitated head of St. John the Baptist. The miniature of *Samson slaying the young lion* from the *Sacra Parallella*, although far from the classical ideal of the male form, shows a remarkable knowledge of anatomy, the same being true of the Samson in prison. The enlarged head from the *Homilies* of Gregory of Nazianzus are powerfully modelled and would be the envy of a Picasso, and, although not Greek at all, they demonstrate that Byzantine painting came directly out of Greek art. These serve to show that the author of the little volume has well demonstrated his point.

In fact, the photographs are so successful and so useful to students of Byzantine art that it is hoped more such works may be published in the future. Since it is impossible always to study Byzantine miniatures with a

glass in hand, such volumes as this would be a happy substitute and make for a better understanding of the art of the Byzantine world.

MARVIN C. ROSS

ADA MARSHALL JOHNSON.—*Hispanic Silverwork*.—New York, printed by Order of the Trustees, 1944. 6 x 9. (Hispanic Notes and Monographs, Essays, Studies and Brief Biographies Issued by the Hispanic Society of America).

The Hispanic Society of America is one of our American museums which has shouldered its responsibility in regard to publishing material about its collections, thus making them easily available to scholars or other interested persons. The most recent is the catalogue of *Hispanic Silverwork* which lives up to the high standard set by the previous catalogues.

One half of the catalogue is devoted to a history of silverwork in Spain from the XIV to the XIX Century. This is the only history of Spanish silverwork of any consequence existing in English. Scattered articles on special subjects are to be found in journals but a discussion of the whole development has never before been attempted. It is admirably done, showing a thorough knowledge of the field and is beautifully illustrated, many of the illustrations showing details which are so necessary in any discussion of metalwork. The historical text discusses pieces in the Hispanic Society's own collection, thus placing them easily and naturally in the historical outline.

In the catalogue each object is illustrated, often with details or enlargements, all pertinent material being included, such as hall-marks, size, previous history when known, etc. So much information collected together is invaluable for the curators of museums who must classify a great deal of material outside their specialty, as well as to anyone interested specifically in Spanish metalwork. The most remarkable piece in the Hispanic Society's collection is beyond question the superb *Custodia* by Cristobal Becerril. Other objects of fine quality are the XIV Century altar crucifix, the *pax* ascribed to Enrique de Arpe, the chalice made at Segovia and the late XVI Century ewer.

One of the most important things that comes out of such a catalogue is the great need for a book on Hispanic hall-marks. These have been very inadequately studied as a whole and such a book is badly needed. Nearly half of the hall-marks (all are given enlarged) are unidentifiable. The French, in recent discussions at the Louvre, told me that they have come to the conclusion that a thorough study of French hall-marks, particularly of the earlier centuries, and especially for the provinces, is urgently required. A similar need exists in regard to Hispanic hall-marks, which have been even less adequately studied.

The catalogue is beautifully printed and the illustrations are usually excellent. The list of references given at the back of the book serves as a very good bibliography of what has been published on Hispanic silverwork of the centuries covered by the catalogue.

MARVIN C. ROSS



ERIK WETTERGREN, *The Arts in Wartime Sweden*, New York, 1944, 6½ x 9¾, 11 p. (Reprinted from *Sweden—A Wartime Survey*.)

Sweden was, before the war, one of the countries in which art was not considered as a luxury or a mere leisure-time activity—restricted to the intellectual, artistic or prosperous elite. Art was an integral and indispensable part of Swedish life. The people of Sweden, together with those of the other Scandinavian countries, have an innate artistic sense, they have an innate desire to have art embellish their every-day life and decorate their homes. The results of scientific civilization, which have caused so many people of the world—and especially the peasants—to lose this sense and this desire, had no such effect upon them. They have deliberately remained faithful to their old traditions. This natural tendency explains, to a large extent, why Sweden was among the very first European countries to found a museum of its folk art and life (The Nordiska Museet and the famous open-air museum of Skansen).

A review of these museums' latest yearly publications gave us the opportunity recently to mention here the Swedish peoples' war-time devotion to their old traditions. The few pages written by ERIK WETTERGREN, Director, National Museum, Stockholm, emphasize the extent to which active artistic life is carried on in war-time Sweden also in the more restrained circles of artists, amateurs, writers, historians, and students of art, as well as by the staffs of museums and universities.

The general decrease of large individual fortunes which, in past centuries and at the beginning of ours, accounted for much of the wealth of museums, the prosperity of artists and the development of art in general,—did not affect Swedish artistic life too drastically. It only caused it to accept a few unavoidable fundamental changes. Under the new conditions the arts in Sweden hold the same place in the life of the country; in some way they have even gained more popular interest and more support from the lower and consequently larger circles of society.

"... interest in the fine arts," says Mr. Wettergren, "has deepened and become more widespread. The interest, to be sure, is still centered in the big cities, Stockholm and Gothenburg, but no longer exclusively so. A hitherto unprecedented love of the fine arts has spread all over the country, thanks largely to the travelling exhibits arranged by the National Museum and the National Association for the Promotion of the Fine Arts, and thanks also to the different popular art movements started by those two organizations, as well as by the Swedish Arts Association and many others".

Competent authorities have thus given particular care to the sponsorship of every movement intended to serve the cause of art. Innumerable exhibitions have been organized in all the museums from which art treasures of their permanent collections were evacuated to bomb proof storehouses and other safety places in the country. Among these were comprehensive shows of various schools and mediums of art made for the public's enlightenment, as well as one-man or group shows of living artists to which hosts of new amateurs gave their unreserved welcome and large moral as well as financial support.

Among foreign exhibits that were organized in spite of the war, in addition to Finnish and Danish shows, was an exhibition of modern engravings sent by the British government and supplemented by a tour of lectures made throughout Sweden by Sir Kenneth Clark, Director, National Gallery, London. Another that ranks high was the National Museum's exhibition, *France Through Artist's Eyes* "which was a brilliant showing of Franco-Swedish art relations from the XVIII Century to the present day." As for Germany, Mr. Wettergren merely states "Germany sent us an officially arranged exhibition of engravings and bookbindings."

He concludes with a thought—which seems to carry the deep meaning of Sweden's war time message, i.e., the value of the arts in "breaking through the wall of isolation which present circumstances have raised about us [Swedes]".

ASSIA R. VISSON





# NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

MARTIN WEINBERGER who studied for his Ph.D under Wolfflin, was research fellow of the Kunsthistorisches Institute, Florence (1926-1928), Assistant Curator of the Theater Museum, (1930-1933) and, since he came to this country, has been associated, as lecturer, with the University of Pennsylvania (1938-1942) and New York University. He has contributed numerous articles to most of the scholarly periodicals of this and other countries, devoting his main interest to the XV and XVI Centuries' Northern paintings, woodcuts and engravings, as well as to Medieval and Renaissance Sculpture. His article on *The Bust of Antonio Galli in the Frick Collection* . . . . . page 257 belongs to the latter field.

ARTUR MICHEL was drama and dance critic of the Berlin "Vossische Zeitung" from 1921 until the paper was discontinued in 1934. He then wrote for American, French and Austrian periodicals and contributed, along with Martha Graham, Mary Wigman, Merle Armitage and others, to the book, *Modern Dance*, New York, 1935. His latest articles are: *The Dance on the Jesuit stage*, in "The Historical Bulletin," St. Louis, 1945, and *The Earliest Dance Manuals*, in "Medievalia et Humanistica," Boulder, Colorado, 1945. In this issue appears his article on: *Two Great XVIII Century Ballet Masters: Jean Baptiste de Hesse and Franz Hilverding; "La Guinguette" and "Le Turc Génèreaux" seen by G. de St. Aubin and Canaletto* . . . . . page 271

JOSÉ LÓPEZ-REY, at present lecturer, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, and Smith College, Northampton, Mass., formerly associated with the University and the Institute for Historical Studies of Madrid, has studied in Florence, Vienna, Madrid (where he received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy and Letters in 1935), etc. He is the author of: *Antonio del Pollaiuolo y el fin del Quattrocento*, Madrid 1935, and *Realismo e Impresionismo en las artes figurativas españolas del siglo XIX*, Barcelona, 1937. He has published a series of articles on Spanish art in the "Gazette des Beaux-Arts" and in the current issue his article is devoted to *The "Unfrocking" Drawings of Francisco de Goya* . . . page 287

BERNARD LEMANN was instructor in the history of art, School of Art, Newcomb College, New Orleans, and during the war has been serving as a conscientious objector in a state hospital. He has been a contributor to the "Bulletin" of the Fogg Museum, Harvard University, the "Magazine of Art", etc. In 1939 his book on Honoré Daumier was accepted for publication by the Harvard University Press. A part of this book has appeared in the February 1945 issue of the "Gazette" (*Daumier and the Republic*), and another part of the same research is published in the current issue: *Daumier Père and Daumier Fils* . . . . . page 297

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